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THE HISTORY OF THE Five INDIAN Nations Depending on the Province OF NEW-YORK In *America*.

By Cadwallader Colden

Printed and Sold by *William Bradford* in *New-York*, 1727.

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TO

His EXCELLENCY

VVilliam Burnet, *Esq*;

Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Provinces of *New-York*, *New-Jersey*, and Territories thereon depending, in *America*, aud Vice-Admiral of the same, *&c.*

SIR;

THe *Indian* Affairs of this Province have appear'd to your Excellency of such Importance to the Welfare of the People here, that you have carefully apply'd your Thoughts to them, in which I hope your Excellency will have such Success, that not only the present Generation shall enjoy the Benefit of your Care, but our latest Posterity likewise may bless

bleſs your Memory under their Happineſs, the Foundation of which may be laid under your Excellency's Adminiſtration, if the People here, who's Intereſt is chiefly concern'd, do on their parts ſecond your Endeavours, as their Duty requires, towards ſecuring the Peace and advancing the Proſperity of their Country.

The following Account of the *Five Nations* will ſhow what Dangerous Neighbours the *Indians* have been, what Pains a Neighbouring Colony (who's Intereſt is Oppoſit to ours) has taken to withdraw their Affections from Us, and how dreadful the Conſequences may be, if that Colony ſhould ſucceed in their Deſigns: and therefore how much we ought to be on our Guard. If we only conſider the Riches which a People, who have been and may again be our Enemies, receive from the *Indian Trade* (tho' we were under no apprehenſions from the *Indians* themſelves) it may be thought imprudent in Us to ſuffer ſuch People to grow Rich and Powerful, while it is in our Power to prevent it, with much leſs Charge and

Trouble

Trouble than it is in theirs to accompliſh their deſigns.

Theſe Conſiderations are ſufficient to make the *Indian Affairs* deſerve the moſt ſerious Thoughts of the Governor of *New-York*. But I know your Excellency's Views are not confin'd to the Intereſt of your own Country only.

The *Five Nations* are a poor Barbarous People, under the *darkeſt Ignorance*, and yet a *bright* and *noble Genius* ſhines thro' theſe *black Clouds*. None of the greateſt *Roman Hero's* have diſcovered a greater Love to their Country, or a greater Contempt of Death than theſe *Barbarians* have done, when *Life* and *Liberty* came in Competition: Indeed, I think our *Indians* have out-done the *Romans* in this particular; for ſome of the greateſt *Romans* have Murder'd themſelves to avoid Shame or Torments, (*a*) VVhereas our *Indians* have refuſed to Dye meanly with the leaſt Pain, when they thought their

(*a*) This will appear by ſeveral Inſtances in the ſecond Part of this Hiſtory.

Country's

Country's Honour would be at ſtake, by it, but gave their Bodies willingly up to the moſt cruel Torments of their Enemies, to ſhew, that the *Five Nations* conſiſted of Men whoſe Courage and Reſolution could not be ſhaken. They ſully, however, theſe *noble Vertues* by that cruel Paſſion *Revenge*, which they think not only lawful, but Honourable to exert without Mercy on their Country's Enemies, and for this only they deſerve the Name of *Barbarians*.

But what have we *Chriſtians* done to make them better? Alas! we have reaſon to be aſhamed, that theſe *Infidels*, by our Converſation and Neighbourhood, are become worſe than they were before they knew us. Inſtead of *Vertues* we have only taught them *Vices*, that they were entirely free of before that time. The narrow Views of *private Intereſt* have occaſioned this, and will occaſion *greater*, even *Publick Miſchiefs*, if the Governors of the People do not, like true Patriots, exert themſelves, and put a ſtop to theſe growing Evils. If theſe Practices be

winked

winked at, instead of *faithful Friends* that have Manfully fought our Battles for us, the *Five Nations* will become *faithless Thieves* and *Robbers*, and joyn with every Enemy that can give them the hopes of *Plunder*.

If care were taken to plant in them, and cultivate that general Benevolence to Mankind, which is the true Principle of *Vertue*, it would effectually eradicate those *horrid Vices* occasioned by their *Unbounded Revenge*; and then the *Five Nations* would no longer deserve the Name of *Barbarians*, but would become a People whose *Friendship* might add *Honour* to the *British Nation*, tho' they be now too generally despised.

The *Greeks* & *Romans*, once as much *Barbarians* as our *Indians* now are, deified the Hero's that first taught them the *Vertues*, from whence the Grandeur of those Renowned Nations wholly proceeded; but a good Man will feel more real Satisfaction and Pleasure from the Sense of having any way forwarded the *Civilizing* of *Barbarous Nations*, or of having *Multiplied* the

Number

Number of good Men, than from the fondeſt hopes of ſuch *extravagant Honour*.

Theſe Conſiderations, I believe, would make your Excellency think a *good Hiſtory of the Five Nations* worthy of your Patronage. As to this, I only hope, that you will look on my offering the following Account, however meanly perform'd, to proceed from the Deſire I have of making ſome Publick Profeſſion of that Gratitude, which is ſo much the Duty of

SIR,

Your Moſt Obliged

And Moſt Obedient

Humble Servant,

Cadwallader Colden.

The PREFACE.

THough every one that is in the leaſt acquainted with the Affairs of *North-America*, knows of what Conſequence the *Indians*, commonly known to the People of *New-York* by the Name of the *Five Nations*, are both in Peace and War, I know of no Accounts of them Published in *English*, but what are meer Tranſlations of *French* Authors. This ſeems to throw ſome Reflection on the Inhabitants of this Province, as if we wanted Curioſity to enquire into our own Affairs, and that we were willing to reſt ſatisfied with the Accounts the *French* give us of our own *Indians*; notwithſtanding that the *French* in *Canada* are always in a different Intereſt, and ſometimes in open Hoſtility with us. This Conſideration, I hope, will juſtify my attempting to write an Hiſtory of the *Five Nations* at this time; and my endeavouring to remove that Blame with which we may be charged, perhaps will attone for many Faults which the want of Capacity may have occaſioned.

Having had the Peruſal of the Minutes of the *Commiſſioners for Indian Affairs*, I have been enabled to collect many Materials for this Hiſtory, which are not to be found any where elſe: And this Collection will, at leaſt, be uſeful to any Perſon of more Capacity, who ſhall afterwards undertake this Task. When a Hiſtory of theſe Nations ſhall be well wrote, it will be of great uſe to all the *British Colonies* in *North-America*; for it may enable them to learn Experience at the Expence of others; and if I can contribute any thing to ſo good a Purpoſe, I ſhall not think my Labour loſt.

It will be neceſſary to Excuſe two things in the following Performance, which, I am afraid, will be found fault with by thoſe that are the beſt Judges. The *Firſt* is, My

 filling

filling up so great part of the Work with the Adventures of small Parties, and sometimes with those of one single Man. The *Second* is, The inserting so many Speeches at length. I must confess, that I have done both these designedly.

As to the *First*, The History of *Indians* would be very lame without an Account of these Private Adventures; for their War-like Expeditions are almost always carried on by Surprizing each other, and their whole Art of War consists in managing small Parties. The whole Country being one continued Forrest, gives great Advantages to these Sculking Parties, and has obliged the *Christians* to imitate the *Indians* in this Method of making War. I believ'd likewise, that some would be curious to know the Manners and Customs of the *Indians*, in their Publick Treaties especially, who could not be satisfied without taking Notice of several minute Circumstances, and some things otherwise of no Consequence. We are fond of searching into Remote Antiquity, to know the Manners of our Earliest *Progenitors*: if I be not mistaken, the *Indians* are living Images of them.

My Design in the *Second* was, That thereby the Genius of the *Indians* might better appear. An Historian may paint Mens Actions in lively Colours, or in faint Shades, as he likes best, and in both cases preserve a perfect Likeness: But it will be a difficult Task to show the Wit, and Judgment, and Art, and Simplicity, and Ignorance of the several Parties, managing a Treaty, in other Words than their own. As to my part, I thought my self uncapable of doing it, without depriving the judicious Observer of the Opportunity of discovering much of the *Indian Genius*, by my Contracting or Paraphrasing their Harrangues, and without committing often gross Mistakes. For, on these Occasions, a skilful Manager often talks Confusedly and Obscurely with design; which if an Historian should endeavour to amend, the Reader would receive the History in a false Light.

The

The Reader will find a great Difference between ſome of the Speeches made at *Albany*, and thoſe taken from the *French* Authors, The firſt are genuine, and truly related, as delivered by the Sworn Interpreters, and where Truth only is required; a rough Stile with it, is preferable to Eloquence without it. But I muſt own, that *I* ſuſpect our Interpreters may not have done Juſtice to the *Indian Eloquence*. For, the *Indians* having but few words, and few complex Ideas, uſe many Metaphors in their Diſcourſe, which interpreted by an heſitating Tongue, may appear mean, and ſtrike our Imagination faintly, but under the Pen of a skilful Interpreter may ſtrongly move our Paſſions by their lively Images. I have heard an Old *Indian Sachem* ſpeak with much Vivacity and Elocution, ſo that the Speaker pleas'd and moved the Auditors with the manner of delivering his Diſcourſe; which, however, as it came from the Interpreter, diſappointed us in our Expectations. After the Speaker had employ'd a conſiderable time in Haranguing with much Elocution, the Interpreter often explained the whole by one ſingle Sentence. I believe the Speaker in that time imbellished and coloured his Figures, that they might have their full force on the Imagination, while the Interpreter contented himſelf with the Senſe, in as few words as it could be expreſt.

He that firſt writes the Hiſtory of Matters which are not generally known, ought to avoid, as much as poſſible, to make the Evidence of the Truth depend entirely on his own Veracity and Judgment: For this reaſon I have often related ſeveral Tranſactions in the Words of the Regiſters. When this is once done, he that ſhall write afterwards need not act with ſo much Caution.

The Hiſtory of *Indians* well wrote, would give an agreeable Amuſement to many, every one might find ſomething therein ſuited to his own Pallat; but even then, every Line would not pleaſe every Man; on the contrary, one will

praiſe what another condemns, and one deſires to know what another thinks not worth the trouble of Reading: And therefore, I think, it is better to run the Riſque of being ſometimes Tedious, than to omit any thing that may be Uſeful.

I have ſometimes thought that the Hiſtories wrote with all the Delicacy of a fine Romance, are like *French* Dishes, more agreeable to the Pallat than the Stomach, and leſs wholſom than more common and courſer Dyet.

An Hiſtorian's Views muſt be various and extenſive, and the Hiſtory of different People and different Ages, requires different Rules, and often different Abilities to write it: I hope, therefore, the Reader will receive this firſt Attempt of the kind, in this Country, with more than uſually Favourable Allowances.

The Inhabitants of *New-York* have been much more concern'd in the Tranſactions which followed the year 1688, than in thoſe which preceeded that year. As it requires uncommon Courage and Reſolution to engage willingly in the Wars of Cruel and Barbarous Enemies; I ſhould be ſorry to forget any that may deſerve to be remembred by their Country with gratitude. The *Firſt Part* of this Hiſtory going abroad by it ſelf, may give thoſe that have any *Memoirs* of their Friends who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves, an opportunity of Communicating them, and may thereby enable the Writer hereof to do ſome Juſtice to their Merit.

They likewiſe that are better acquainted with the *Indian Affairs* may, perhaps, find ſome Miſtakes in what is now Publiſhed, and may know ſome things which I know not, if they will be ſo kind as to Communicate them, I ſhall gladly Amend and Inſert them in what is to follow.

C. C.

A short VOCABULARY *of some Words and Names used by the* French *Authors, which are not generally understood by the* English *that understand the* French *Language, and may therefore be Useful to those that intend to read the* French *Accounts, or compare them with the Accounts now Published.*

Names used by the French.	*The same are called by the* English *or* Five Nations.
ABENAQUIES,	OWENAGUNGAS, or *New-England Indians*, and are sometimes called the *Eastern-Indians.*
ALGONKINS,	ADIRONDACKS,
AMIHOUIS,	DIONONDADIES or TUINUNDADEKS, a Branch or Tribe of the *Quatoghies.*
ANIEZ,	MOHAWKS, called *Maquas* by the *Dutch* living in the Province of *New-York.*
BAY des PUANS,	ENITAJICHE.
CHYGAGON,	CONERAGHIK,
CORLAER ou CORLARD,	SCHENECTADY. But the *Five Nations* generally call the Governor of *New-York* by this Name, and they often likewise comprehend under it the People of this Province.
DE-TROIT,	TEUCHSAGRONDIE,
	HURONS,

Names used by the French	*The same are called by the* English *or* Five Nations
HURONS,	QUATOGHE. But the *French* now generally call those of that Nation only *Hurons*, who live at *Missilimakinack*, and who are called *Dionondadiks ronoon* by the *Five Nations*.
ILINOIS,	CHICTAGHIKS,
IROQUOIS,	The FIVE NATIONS.
LAC HURON,	CANIATARE QUATOGHE or *Quatoghe Lake*.
LOUPS,	SCAKHOOK INDIANS.
MANHATTAN,	NEW-YORK. The Island on which the City stands was called *Manhattan* by the *Indians*, and still retains that Name with the old *Dutch* Inhabitants.
MASCOUTECS,	ODISTASTAGHEKS,
MAURIGANS,	MAHIKANDER or *River-Indians*.
MIAMIES,	TWIHTWIES.
MICHILIMAKINAK, ou MISSILIMAKINAK	TEIADONDORAGHIE.
MISSISAKES,	ACHSISAGHEKS.
NADOUESSIAUX,	NADUISSEKS.
ONEYOUTS,	ONEYDOES.
ONNONTIO,	YONNONDIO, The Name given to the *Governor of Canada* by the *Five Nations*.
ONTARIO LAC,	CADARACKUI LAKE,
ORANGE,	ALBANY. The *Dutch* of this Province call this Place *Fort Orange* to this Day, being the Name given to it by the *Hollanders* when they possessed this Country.

Names used by the French,	*The same are called by the* English *or* Five Nations
OUTAGAMIES,	Under this Name the *French* comprehend the *Quaksies* and *Scunksiks.*
OUTAWAES,	UTAWAWAS or *Waganhas*, and sometimes *Necariages*, the *English* generally comprehend under the Name *Utawawas* all the Nations living near *Missilimakiuak.*
RENARDS,	QUAKSIES,
SAUTEURS,	ESTIAGHIKS,
SHAOUONONS,	SATANAS,
TATERAS,	TODERIKS,
TERRE ROUGE,	SCUNKSIKS,
TONGORIAS,	ERIGEKS,
TSONONTOUANS,	SENNEKAS.

N. B. The *Five Nations*, as they have severally a Different Dialect, use different Terminations, and the *French* generally distinguish that Sound in the *Indian Language* by (*t*) which the *English* do by (*d*) but I have neglected such small Differences.

A Short VIEW OF THE Form of Government OF THE FIVE NATIONS.

IT is neceſſary to know ſomething of the *Form of Government* of the People whoſe Hiſtory one reads. A few words will ſerve to give the Reader a general Notion of that of the *Five Nations*, becauſe it ſtill remains under Original Simplicity, free from thoſe complicated Contrivances which have become neceſſary to thoſe Nations where Deceit and Cunning have increaſed as much as their Knowledge and Wiſdom.

The *Five Nations* (as their Name denotes) conſiſt of ſo many Tribes or Nations joyn'd together by a League or Confederacy, like the *United Provinces*, without any Superiority of any one over the other. This Union has continued ſo long that the *Chriſtians* know nothing of the Original of it.

They are known to the *Engliſh* under the Names

Names of *Mohawks*, *Oneydoes*, *Onnondagas*, *Cayugas* and *Sennekas*; but it is probable that this Union at first consisted only of three Nations, *viz.* the *Mohawks*, *Onnondagas* and *Sennekas*, and that the *Oneydoes* and *Cayugas* were afterwards adopted or received into this League; for the *Oneydoes* acknowledge the *Mohawks* to be their Fathers, as the *Cayugas* do the *Sennekas* to be theirs.

Each of the Nations are distinguished into 3 Tribes or Families, who distinguish themselves by three different sorts of Arms or Ensigns, *viz.* the *Tortoise*, the *Bear* & the *Wolfe*. The Sachems of these Families, when they sign any Publick Papers, put the Mark or Ensign of their Family to it.

Each Nation is an absolute Republick by its self, govern'd in all Publick Affairs of War and Peace by the *Sachems* or *Old Men*, whose Authority and Power is gain'd by and consists wholly in the Opinion the rest of the Nation have of their *Wisdom* and *Integrity*. They never execute their Resolutions by Compulsion or Force upon any of their People. *Honour* and *Esteem* are their Principal Rewards, as *Shame* & being *Despised* are their Punishments. They have certain Customs which they observe in their Publick Affairs with other Nations, and in their Private Affairs among themselves, which it is *scandalous* for any one not to observe,

and draw after them publick or private *Resentment* when they are broke.

Their *Generals* and *Captains* obtain their Authority likewiſe by the general Opinion of their *Courage* and *Conduct*, and looſe it by a *Failure* in thoſe *Vertues*.

Their *Great Men*, both *Sachems* and *Captains*, are generally poorer than the common People, for they affect to give away and diſtribute all the *Preſents* or *Plunder* they get in their Treaties or War, ſo as to leave nothing to themſelves: If they ſhould once be ſuſpected of *Selfiſhneſs*, they would grow mean in the Opinion of their Country-men, and would conſequently looſe their Authority.

Their *Affairs of Great Conſequence*, which concern all the Nations, are Tranſacted in a *General Meeting* of the *Sachems* of every Nation. Theſe Conventions are generally held at *Onnondaga*, which is nearly in the Center of all the *Five Nations*. But they have fixed upon *Albany* to be the Place for their *Solemn Treaties* with the *Engliſh Colonies*.

The *Tuſcaroras*, ſince the War they had with the People of *Carolina*, fled to the *Five Nations*, and are now incorporated with them, ſo that they now properly conſiſt of *Six Nations* (tho' they ſtill retain the old Name among the *Engliſh*.) The *Tuſcaroras*, ſince they came under the Government of *New-York*, behave themſelves

ſelves well, and remain peaceable and quiet: By which may be ſeen the advantage of uſing the *Indians* well; and, I believe, if they were ſtill better uſed, (as there is room enough to do it) the *Indians* would be proportionably more Uſeful to us.

As I am fond to think, that the preſent ſtate of the *Indian Nations* exactly ſhows the *moſt Ancient* and *Original Condition* of almoſt every Nation; ſo I believe, here we may with more certainty ſee the *Original Form of all Government*, than in the moſt *curious Speculations* of the *Learned*; and that the *Patriarchal*, and other *Schemes* in *Politicks* are no better than *Hypotheſes* in *Philoſophy*, and as prejudicial to real Knowledge.

I ſhall only add the Character which Monſ. *De la Poterie* gives of the *Five Nations* in his Hiſtory of *North-America*, *viz.*

" When one talks (*ſays he*) of the *Five* " *Nations* in *France*, they are thought, by a " common Miſtake, to be meer *Barbarians*, " always thirſting after *Human Blood*; but " their true Character is very different: They " are the *Fierceſt* and *moſt Formidable People* in " *North America*, and at the ſame time as *Po-* " *litick* and *Judicious* as well can be conceiv'd. " This appears from their Management of the " Affairs which they Tranſact, not only with " the *French* and *Engliſh*, but likewiſe with " almoſt all the *Indian Nations* of this vaſt " Continent.

Errata.

PAg. 3. line 18. for *of the* read *of these*. P. 13. l. 9. f. *Naoious* r. *Nations*. P. 17. l. 19. for *Nipereriniens* r. *Nepiceriniens*, l. 25. dele *towards the*. P. 24. l. 13. dele *But*. P. 28. l. 13. for *accompanied* r. *accompanied*. P. 36. l. 11. f. *was* r. *were*. P. 74. l. ult. f. *Dedonondadik* r. *Deonondadik*. P. 80. l. 16. f. *did not, we should* r. *do not, we shall*. P. 94. l. ult. f. *Peterie* r. *Poterie*. P. 111. l. 28. f. *Prevent, Mr.* r. *prevent this, Mr.* P. 115. l. 23. f. *when* r. *then*. There are some other small Errors, which do not affect the Sense, and the Reader may easily correct.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THere is now Published a MAP of the great Lakes, Rivers and *Indian* Countries mentioned in the ensuing History. Printed and Sold by *William Bradford* in *New-York*.

THE HISTORY OF THE Five INDIAN Nations Depending on the Province of *NEW-YORK*.

PART I.

From the first Knowledge the *Christians* had of the *Five Nations*, to the Time of the happy Revolution in *Great Britain*.

CHAP. I.

The Wars of the Five Nations *with the* Adirondacks *and* Quatoghies.

THE first Account we have of the *Indians*, who call themselves *Rodinunchsionni*, now commonly known by the

Name of the *Five Nations*, (and by the *French* call'd *Les Iroquois*) was from the *French*, who settled *Canada* under Mr. *Champlain*, their first Governor, in the year 1603. six years before the *Dutch* settled *New-York*. When the *French* first arrived, they found the *Adirondacks* (by the *Freneh* called *Algonkins*) at War with the *Five Nations*, which, they tell us, was occasioned in the following manner.

(*a*) The *Adirondacks* formerly lived about one hundred Leagues above *Trois Kivieres*, where now the *Utawawas* live; at that time they imploy'd themselves wholly in Hunting, and the *Five Nations* made Planting of Corn their whole business, by which means they became useful to one another, and lived in Friendship together, the *Five Nations* exchanging with the *Adirondacks* Corn for Venison. The *Adirondacks* valued themselves, and their manner of living, as more Noble than that of the *Five Nations*, and despised them for that reason.

At last the Game began to be scarce with the *Adirondacks*, they therefore desired that some of the young Men of the *Five Nations* might joyn with them, and assist them in their Hunting, which the *Five Nations* the more wil-

(*a*) Histoire de L' Amerique septenrionale par Mr. de Bacqueville de la Potherie, Vol. 1. Lettre 11.

lingly

lingly agreed to, in hopes that thereby their People might acquire skill in Hunting.

It has been a conſtant Cuſtom among all the Nations of *Indians*, to divide themſelves into ſmall Companies while they Hunt, and to divide likewiſe the Country among their ſeveral Parties, each having a ſpace of 3 or four Miles Square alloted them, in which none of the others muſt pretend to Hunt; and if any Nation ſhould encroach upon the Limits of another, in their hunting, they certainly draw a War upon themſelves.

At this time the *Adirondacks* were obliged to ſpread themſelves far, becauſe of the ſcarcity of the Game, and each Party took ſome of the *Five Nations* along with them, who being leſs expert than the *Adirondacks*, perform'd moſt of the Drudgery in their March. One of the Parties, which conſiſted of ſix *Adirondacks*, and as many of the *Five Nations*, marched further than any of the reſt, in hopes of the better Sport: They had, for a long time bad luck, ſo as to be obliged to live upon the Bark of Trees, and ſome Roots, which thoſe of the *Five Nations* ſcraped out of the ground, from under the Snow. This extremity obliged the *Adirondacks* to part from thoſe of the *Five Nations*, each making a ſeperate Company; and after they had agreed on a Day to return to a Cabbin where both of them left

their Baggage, each took his Quarter to hunt in: The *Adirondacks* were unlucky, and return'd first to the Cabbin, where not finding those of the *Five Nations*, they did not doubt of their being dead of Hunger; but these young Men of the *Five Nations* were become dextrous with their Bows, and very cuning in approaching and surprizing their Game, which was chiefly owing to their being more patient and able to bear Fatigues and Hardships than the *Adirondacks* were, accordingly they soon arrived loaded with the flesh of Wild Cows. The *Adirondacks* could not believe that they were capable of such an Expedition, without being assisted by some of their Nation. However, the *Adirondacks* received them with pleasant Countenances, and congratulated them on their Success. Those of the *Five Nations* made the other a Present of the best of their Venison; They eat together with much Civility, on both sides: But the *Adirondacks* becoming Jealous of this Success, conspired together, and in the Night time murdered all the six Men of the *Five Nations*, while they slept. Next Morning the *Adirondacks* follow'd their Foot-steps, by which they had return'd to the Cabbin, and found the place where they had hunted, and much Venison which they had killed, which the *Adirondacks* dryed, and carried home along with them.

The

The reſt of the *Five Nations* enquired after their Companions; The *Adirondacks* anſwered very cooly, that they parted ſoon after they had left home, and they knew not what w. become of them. But the People of the *Five Nations* being impatient to know ſomething certain of their Companions, ſent out ſeveral Parties in queſt of them: They followed the Foot-ſteps of thoſe Hunters, and found the ſix Dead Bodies, which the wild Beaſts had dug up; and upon Examination found they had been Murdered. They made many Complaints to the Chiefs of the *Adirondacks*, of the Inhumanity of this Murder, who contented themſelves with blaming the Murderers, and ordering them to make ſome ſmall Preſents to the Relations of the murdered Perſons, without being apprehenſive of the Reſentment of the *Five Nations*; for they look'd upon them as men not capable of taking any Revenge.

Thoſe of the *Five Nations* ſmother'd their Anger, and not being willing to truſt themſelves any longer with the *Adirondacks*, they returned home to their own People, who then lived near *Montreal* on the Banks of *St. Lawrence River*. They gave an account of this Aſſaſſination to their Nation, who upon hearing it conceiv'd a vaſt Indignation againſt the *Adirondacks*, who being adviſed of the ſecret movements of the *Five Nations*, Reſolv'd to oblige them to ſubmit

to

to their Law, by force of Arms. The *Five Nations* apprehending their Power, retired to the Southward of *Cadarackui Lake*, where they now live, and defended themselves at first but faintly against the Vigorous Attacks of the *Adirondacks*. But afterwards becoming more expert, and more used to War, they not only made a brave Defence, but likewise made themselves Masters of the great Lakes, and chased the *Shawanons* from thence.

While the two Nations were at War, the *French* arrived and settled in *Canada*, and the *Five Nations* having forced the *Adirondacks* to leave their own Country and retire towards *Quebeck*, the *French* thought themselves obliged to assist their New Allies, the *Adirondacks*, without examining into the Reasons of the War.

Thus began a War and Hatred between the *French* and the *Five Nations*, which cost the *French* much Blood, and more than once had like to have occasioned the entire Destruction of their Colony. The War had driven the *Adirondacks* to *Quebec*, and the desire of Trading with the *French*, had drawn likewise all their Allies that way, who agreed with them joyntly, to make War against the *Five Nations*, and to attack them in their *own Country*.

Mr. *Champlain* desiring to give his Allies Proof of his Love, and the Valour of the

French

French Nation, put himself at the Head of a Body of *Adirondacks*, and passed with them into *Corlars Lake*, which from this time the *French* have called by Mr. *Champlain*'s name.

They had not long been in the Lake before they discover'd a Body of the *Five Nations* going to War. As soon as they saw each other, Shouts and Crys began on both Sides. Mr. *Champlain* made his men keep their Canoes at some distance; The *Five Nations* in the mean time landed, and began to intrench themselves, by cutting down the Trees round them; The *Adirondacks* stopt their Canoes near the Enemy, & sent to offer them Battel, who answer'd, *That they must stay till Morning, when both sides would have the Advantage of the Day Light*: The night passed in Dancing and War Songs, mixed with a thousand Reproaches against each other. Mr. *Champlain* had put some *French* in each Canoe, and order'd them not to show themselves, that their appearance might be the greater surprize to the Enemy, in the time of the Battel. As soon as day light appeared, the *Adirondacks* landed, in order of Battel, & the *Five Nations* to the Number of 200 Men marched out of their Intrenchments, and put themselves in order, with three Captains in the Front, having large Plumes of Feathers on their Heads, and then advanced with a grave Air and slow Pace. The *Adirondacks* gave a great Shout and open'd

to

to the Right and Left, to give room for Mr. *Champlain* and the *French* to advance: This new Sight surprized the Enemy, and made them halt, to consider it, upon which the *French* firing, the three Captains were kill'd: This more surpriz'd the *Five Nations*; for they knew that their Captains had a kind of Cuirals made of pieces of Wood join'd together, that was Proof against Arrows, and they could not perceive in what manner the Wound was given, by which they fell so suddenly. Then the *Adirondacks* gave a terrible Shout, and attacked the Enemy, who received them bravely, but a second Volley from the *French*, put them into such Confusion (having never before seen fire Arms) that they immediately fled. The *Adirondacks* took twelve Prisoners, and as the Custom of the Indians is, burnt one of them alive, with great Cruelty; His Torment had continued much longer than it did, if Mr. *Champlain* had not in Compassion, & abhorrence of such Barbarity, Shot the poor Wreth thro' the Head.

The *Adirondacks* having their Numbers thus very much encreased, and their fire Arms giving them new Confidence, proposed nothing less to themselves, than the entire Destruction of the *Five Nations*, by open Force; And upon this their Young Warriors became Fierce and Insolent, and could not be kept under

under any Diſcipline, Order or Subjection to their Chiefs or Captains, but upon all Occaſions raſhly attacked the Enemy, who were oblig'd to keep themſelves upon the Defenſive, and to make up what they wanted in Force, by Stratagems, and a skillful management of the War. The Young Men of the *Five Nations* ſoon perceived the Advantages they gain'd by this Conduct, and every day grew more ſubmiſſive to their Captains, and diligent in executing any Enterprize, while the *Adirondacks* confiding in their Numbers and their fire Arms, thought of nothing but of Conquering by meer Force.

The *Five Nations* ſent out ſmall Parties only, who meeting with great Numbers of the *Adirondacks*, retired before them, with ſeeming Fear and Terror, while the *Adirondacks* purſued them with Fury, and without thought, till they were cunningly drawn into Ambuſcades, where moſt of their men were kill'd, or taken Priſoners, with little or no loſs to the *Five Nations*.

By theſe means and their being frequently ſurprized by the *Five Nations*, while they remain'd confident in their Number, the *Adirondacks* waſted away, and their boldeſt Soldiers were almoſt entirely deſtroyed, while the Number of the *Five Nations* rather encreaſed by

by the Addition of the Prisoners which they took from the *Shawanons*.

It has been a constant Maxim with the *Five Nations*, to save the Children and Young Men of the People they Conquer, to adopt them into their own Nation, and to educate them as their own Children, without Distinction; These young People soon forget their own Country and Nation,; and by this Policy the *Five Nations* make up the Losses which their Nation suffers by the People they loose in War. The wisest and best Soldiers of the *Adirondacks*, when it was too late, discovered that they must imitate and learn the Art of War from those Enemies, that they at first Despised. Now five of their chief Captains endeavour to perform by themselves singly, with Art and by Stratagem, what they could not perform by Force at the Head of their Armies; but they having no longer any hopes of Conquering their Enemies, their thoughts were only set on Revenge.

The *Five Nations* had taken one of the chief Captains of the *Adirondacks*, and had burnt him alive. This gave *Piskaret*, who was the chief Captain of the *Adirondacks* so deep a Resentment, that the Difficulty or Danger of the most desperate Attempt made no Impression upon his Spirit, where he had the hope of Revenge.

I ſhall give the Particulars of this from the *French* Accounts; for by it the nature of the *Indians*, and the manner of their making War, may be more eaſily underſtood.

Piskaret, with four other Captains, ſet out from *Trois Rivieres* in one Canoe, each being provided with three Fuzees. In two Days they reach'd *Sorel River*, where they perceiv'd five Canoes of the *Five Nations* with ten Men in each. At firſt thoſe of the *Five Nations* believed that this Canoe was the van of ſome conſiderable Party, and therefore went from it with all the force of their Paddles. When they ſaw that after a conſiderable time, no others followed, they returned, and as ſoon as they came within call, they raiſed their War-Shout, which they call *Saſſakue*, and bid *Piskaret* and his Fellows Surrender. He anſwered, That he was their Priſoner, and that he could no longer ſurvive the Captain they had burnt; but that he might not be accuſed of ſurrendring Cowardly, he bid them advance to the middle of the River, which they did, with ſurprizing Swiftneſs. *Piskaret* had before hand loaded all his Arms with two Bullets each, which he joyn'd together with a ſmall Wire ten Inches in length, with deſign to tear the Canoes in pieces (which it could not fail to do, they being made only of Birch Bark) and gave his Companions Direction,

ction, each to chuſe a Canoe, and level his ſhot between Wind and Water

As the Canoes approached, he made as if he had deſign'd to eſcape; and to prevent him, thoſe of the *Five Nations* ſeperated from each other with too much Precipitation, and Surrounded him. The *Adirondacks*, the better to amuſe the Enemy, ſung their Death Song, as ready to ſurrender themſelves, when every one ſuddenly took his Piece and fired upon the Canoes, which they Reiterated three times, with the Arms that lay ready. Thoſe of the *Five Nations* were extreamly ſurpriz'd; for Fire Arms were ſtill terrible to them, and they tumbled out of their Canoes, which immediately ſunk. The *Adirondacks* knock't them all on the head in the Water, except ſome of the chiefs that they made Priſoners, who's Fate was as cruel as that of the *Adirondack* Captain, who had been burnt alive.

Piskaret was ſo far from having his Revenge glutted with this Slaughter, and the cruel Torments with which he made his Priſoners dye, that it ſeem'd rather to give a keener edge to it; for he ſoon after attempted another enterprize, in which the boldeſt of his Country-men durſt not accompany him.

As he was well acquainted with the Country of the *Five Nations*, he ſet out alone about the time that the Snow began to melt, with the precaution

precaution of putting the hinder part of his Snow Shoes forward, that if any ſhould happen upon his foot-ſteps, they might think that he was gone the contrary way; and for further ſecurity went along a Ridge, where the Snow was melted, and where his foot-ſteps could not be diſcovered, but in a few places. When he found himſelf near one of the Villages of the *Five Nations* he hid himſelf in a hollow Tree: In the Night he found out a Place nearer at hand, and more proper to retire into, for the execution of any Enterprize. He found four Piles of Wood ſtanding cloſe together, which the *Indians* had provided againſt the Winter and their buſie times, in the middle of which was a hollow place, in which he thought he could ſafely hide. The whole Village was faſt aſleep when he enter'd a Cabbin, kill'd four Perſons and took off their Scalps, being all that were in the Houſe, and then return'd quietly into his Hole. In the Morning the whole Village was in an Alarm, as ſoon as the Murder was diſcovered, and the young Men made all poſſible haſte to follow the *Murderer*. They diſcover'd *Piskarets* foot-ſteps, which appear'd to them to be the foot-ſteps of ſome Perſon that fled; this encourag'd them in their Purſuit: Sometimes they loſt the Tract, and ſometimes found it again, till at laſt they entirely loſt it, where the Snow was melted, and

they

they were forced to return, after much useless fatigue. *Piskaret* quiet in the midst of his Enemies waited with impatience for the Night. As soon as he saw that it was time to act (*viz.* in the first part of the night, when the *Indians* are observed to sleep very fast) he enter'd into another Cabbin, where he kill'd every Person in it, & immediately retir'd into his Wood-pile. In the morning there was a greater Outcry than before, nothing was seen but Wailing, Tears, and a general Consternation. Every one runs in quest of the Murderer, but no Tract to be seen besides the Tract which they saw the day before. They search'd the Woods, Swamps and Clifts of the Rocks, but no Murderer to be found. They began to suspect *Piskaret* who's Boldness and Cunning was too well known to them. They agreed that two men next night should watch in every Cabbin. All day long he was contriving some new *Stratagem*; he bundles up his Scalps, and in the night he slips out of his lurking place, He approaches one of the Cabbins as quietly as possible and peeps thro' a hole to see what could be done there he perceived Guards on the Watch, he went to another, where he found the same care. When he discover'd that they were every where upon their Guard he resolved to strike his last blow, and opened a Door, where he found a Centinel nodding with his Pipe in his mouth.

Piskaret

Piskaret split his Scull with his Hatchet, but had not time to take his Scalp, for another man who watched at the other end of the Cabbin, raised the cry, and *Piskaret* fled. The whole Village immediately was in an Uproar, while he got off as fast as he could; Many pursued him, but as he was so swift as to run down the Wild Cows and the Deer, the pursuit gave him no great uneasiness; When he perceived they came near him, he would Halloe to them, to quicken their pace, then spring from them like a Buck. When he gain'd any distance he would loiter till they came near, then halloe, and fly. Thus he continued all day, with design to tire them out, with the hopes of over-taking him.

As they pursued only a single Man, five or six only of the Nimblest young Men continued the Chace, till being tired they were forced to rest in the Night, which when *Piskaret* observed, he hid himself near them in a hollow Tree. They had not time to take Victuals with them, and being wearied & hungry, and not apprehending any Attack from a single Person that fled, they all soon fell a sleep. *Piskaret* observ'd them, fell upon them, kill'd them all, and carried away their (*b*) Scalps.

These

(*b*) These are the Trophies of Victory which all the *Indian Nations* carry home with them, if they have time to

These Stories may seem incredible to many, but will not appear to be Improbable to those who know how extreamly Revengeful the *Indians* naturally are. That they every day undertake the greatest Fatigues, the longest Journeys, and the greatest Dangers, to gratifie that Devouring Passion, which seems to gnaw their Souls, and gives them no ease till it is satisfied. All Barbarous Nations have been observed to be Revengful and Cruel, the certain Consequences of an unbounded Revenge, as the Curbing of these Passions is the happy Effect of being Civilized.

The *Five Nations* are so much delighted with Stratagems in War, that no Superiority of their Force makes them neglect them. They amused therefore the *Adirondacks* and their Allies, the *Quatoghies*, (called by the *French*, *Hurons*) by sending to the *French*, and desiring Peace. The *French* desired them to receive some Priests among them, in hopes that these prudent Fathers would by some Art reconcile them to the *French*, and engage their Affections. The *Five Nations* accepted the Offer, and some Jesuits went along with them. But after

to flea the Scalp from the Skull of their Enemies, when they have killed them; and sometimes they are so Cruel as to flea the Scalp off, without killing them, or otherwise wounding them, but leave them in this miserable Condition with their Skull bare.

after they had the Jesuits in their Power, they used them only as Hostages, and by that means obliged the *French* to be Neuter, while they prepared to Attack the *Adirondacks* and *Quatoghies*, and accordingly entirely destroy'd the *Quatoghies* in a Battel fought within two Leagues of *Quebeck*, while the *French* durst not give their Allies any assistance.

Indeed the *French* Author says, That if the *Five Nations* had known the weakness of the *French* at that time, they might easily have destroyed that Colony.

The Defeat of the *Quatoghies* struck Terror into all the Allies of the *Adirondacks*, who were at that time very Numerous, because of the benefit of the *French* Trade, which they had by their means; for before that time the *Indians* had not any Iron Tool among them.

The *Nipeceriniens*, who then lived on the Banks of *St. Laurence River*, fled to the Northward, in hopes that the extream Coldness of the Climate, and a barren Soil, would free them from the fear they had of the *Five Nations*. The remainder of the *Quatoghies* fled with the *Utawawas* towards the Southwestward, and for their greater Security settled in an Island, which the *French* still call by their Name, which being further than the Name of the *Five Nations* had at that time

reached, they thought themselves secure by the Distance of the Place.

This Expedition having succeeded so well, the *Five Nations* gave out, that they intended next Winter to visit *Yonnondio* (the name they give to the Governor of *Canada*.) These visits are always made with much Show. They gather'd together 1000 or 1200 Men, and passing over *Corlaers Lake*, they fell in with *Nicolet River*, where it falls into the South side of *Lake St. Pierre* in *St. Laurence River*, eight Leagues above *Trois Rivieres*; Six Scouts marched three Leagues before the Army, who met with *Piskaret*, as he return'd from Hunting, loaded with the Tongues of wild Cows. As they came near him, they sang their Song of Peace, and *Piskaret* taking them for Ambassadors, stopt, and sung his. It is probable that he having glutted his private Revenge, and his Nation having been long harassed with a Cruel War, he too greedily swallow'd the Bait: Peace being what he and all his Nation earnestly desir'd. He invited them therefore to go along with him to his Village, which was but two or three Leagues further: and as he went, he told them, that the *Adirondacks* were divided into two Bodies, one of which hunted on the North side of *St. Laurence*

River

River at *Wabmache*, three Leagues above *Trois Rivieres*, and the other at *Nicolet*. One of the Scouts had on purpose ſtaid behind, this Man followed *Piskaret*, and coming up behind him, knockt him on the Head with his Hatchet. Then they all returned to their Army with *Piskaret*'s Head. The *Five Nations* immediately divided likewiſe into two Bodies, they ſurprized the *Adirondacks*, and cut them in pieces.

Thus the moſt War-like and Polite Nation of all the *Indians* in *North-America* was almoſt entirely Deſtroy'd by a People they at firſt deſpiſed, and by a War which their Pride and Injuſtice brought upon them. *Immorality* has ever ruin'd the Nations where it abounded, whether they were Civilized or Barbarians, as Juſtice and ſtrict Diſcipline has made others Flouriſh and grow Powerful.

A very few *Adirondacks* now remain in ſome Villages near *Quebeck*, who ſtill waſte away and decay, by their drinking Strong Waters, tho' when the *French* firſt ſettled *Quebeck*, 1500 Men of them lived between that and *Silleri*, which are only a League diſtant, beſides thoſe that lived at *Saguenay*, *Trois Rivieres*, and ſome other places. After this Battle the *Adirondacks* have never been conſidered as of any conſequence, either in Peace or War.

The *Quatoghies* and *Utawawas* soon began to be in want of the *European* Commodities, and their desire to make themselves considerable among their new Friends, set them upon attempting to return to trade at *Quebeck*, by which means the place of their retreat was discover'd to the *Five Nations*, who not having their Revenge satiated, so long as any of that Nation remain'd, resolved at all hazards to march through these vast unknown Deserts, to satisfy their cruel Passion. The *Quatoghies* had the good Fortune to discover them time enough to make their Escape, and fled to the *Putewatemies*, who liv'd a days Journey further, where they and all the Neighbouring Nations secur'd themselves in a large Fort. The *Five Nations* followed, but being in want of Provisions, they could not attempt a Siege, and therefore propos'd a Treaty to the *Putewatemies*, which was accepted. The *Putewatemies* agreed to a League of Friendship, in which they acknowledged the *Five Nations* to be the Master of all the Nations round them, applauded their Valour, and promised to supply them with Provisions, but would not trust themselves out of their Fort. The *Putewatemies* accordingly sent them out a supply of Provisions, but with design to effect, by Treachery, what they durst not attempt

by

by Force; for they Poiſon'd all the Provi-ſions. This was diſcover'd to them by an old *Quatoghie*, who had a Son Priſoner a-mong the *Five Nations*. His affection for his Son overcame his hatred to his Country's Enemies. This Treachery enraged the *Five Nations* againſt the *Putewatemies*, and the Neighbouring Nations, but Famine obliged them to return at this time, and to ſeperate their Army into Parties, the better to pro-vide for their Subſiſtence by Hunting. One of theſe Parties fell in with a Village of the *Chichtaghicks* (call'd by the *French*, *Ilinois*) and ſurpriz'd the old Men, Women and Chil-dren, when the young Men were abroad Hunting, but they upon their return ga-ther'd all the reſt of the Villages, purſued the party of the *Five Nations*, and recover'd the Priſoners.

This was the firſt time that the *Five Nations* had appear'd in thoſe Parts, but their Name was become ſo Terrible, that the *Chicktaghicks*, notwithſtanding of this Advantage, left their Country, and fled to the Nations that lived Weſtward, till the general Peace was ſettled by the *French*, and then they return'd to their own Country.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Their Wars and Treaties of Peace with the French, *from* 1665. *to* 1683. *and their Affairs with* New-York *in that Time.*

IN *June*, 1665, Monſ. *de Traſi* being Appointed Vice-Roy of *America*, arrived at *Quebeck*, after he had viſited all the Iſlands in the *Weſt-Indies*, and brought with him four Companies of Foot. In *September* of the ſame year Mr. *Courſel* arrived with the Commiſſion of Governor General of *Canada*, with eleven Veſſels, which tranſported a Regiment, and ſeveral Families, with all things neceſſary for the eſtabliſhing of a Colony. The *French* Force being thus ſo conſiderably augmented, he reſolved in the Winter to ſend out a Party againſt the *Mohawks*, which by the Cold, and their not knowing the uſe of Snow-Shoes, ſuffered very much, without doing any thing againſt the Enemy.

This Party fell in with *Schenectady*, a ſmall Town which *Corlaer* (a conſiderable Man among the *Dutch*) had then newly ſettled. When they appear'd near *Schenectady* they were almoſt kill'd with Cold and Hunger, and the *Indians*, who then were in that Village, had

had entirely finiſhed their Ruin, if *Corlaer*, (in Compaſſion of fellow *Chriſtians*) had not contriv'd their eſcape. He had a mighty Influence over the *Indians*, and it is from him that all the Governors of *New-York* are call'd *Corlaer* by the Indians to this Day, tho' he himſelf never was Governor. He perſwaded the Indians that this was but a ſmall Party of the *French* Army, come to amuſe them, that the great Body was gone directly towards their Caſtles, and that it was neceſſary for them immediately to go in Defence of their Wives and Children: which they did. As ſoon as the Indians were gone, he ſent to the *French*, and ſupply'd them with Proviſions to carry them back. The *French* Governor, in order to Reward ſo ſignal a Service, invited *Corlaer* to *Canada*, and, no doubt, with deſign to make uſe of his Intereſt with the Indians in ſome Project, in favour of the *French* Colony; but as he went through the Lake (by the French call'd *Champlain*) his Canoe was Overſet, and he drowned. From this Accident that Lake has ever ſince been call'd *Corlaers Lake* by the People of *New-York*.

There is a Rock in this Lake, on which the Waves daſh and fly up to a very great height, when the Wind blows ſtrong; the *Indians* fancy, that an Old *Indian* lives under this Rock, who has the Power of the Winds, and

and therefore as they pass this Rock in their Voyages through this Lake, they always throw a *Pipe* or some *Tobacco*, or something else to this Old *Indian*, and pray a favourable Wind. The *English* that often pass with them, sometimes laugh at them; but they are sure to be told of *Corlaers Death* with a grave air. *Your great Country-man* Corlaer (say they) *as he passed by this Rock, jested at our Fathers making Presents to this Old* Indian, *and in derision turn'd up his Back-side towards the Rock, but this Affront cost him his Life.*

But the next Spring the Vice-Roy and the Governor, with 28 Companies of Foot, and all the Inhabitants of the Colony, marched into the Country of the *Mohawks*, with a design to destroy this Nation, which by the War not only prevented their Commerce with other Indians, but even prevented the Settlement of the Colony. This certainly was a bold Attempt, to march thus above 250 Leagues from *Quebeck*, through unknown Forrests; but all they were able to do, was to burn some of their Villages, and to Murder some Old Men, that (like the Old *Roman* Senators) would rather dye than desert their Houses.

This Expedition. however, gave the *Five Nations* Apprehensions they had not before; for they never before that saw so great a Number of *Europeans*, whose Fire-Arms were extreamly

treamly Terrible, and they therefore thought proper to ſend and beg a Peace, which was concluded in 1667.

But they being naturally very Enterprizing and Haughty, a Party of the *Five Nations* met with a Party of the *French* a hunting, and quarrelled with them. The *French* Author does not inform us of the particulars: But it ſeems the *Indians* had the Advantage, for they kill'd ſeveral of the *French* and carried one Priſoner into their own Country. Monſ. *De Courſel* ſent to Threaten the *Five Nations* with War, if they did not deliver up theſe Murderers.

The *Five Nations* being at this time apprehenſive of the *French* Power, ſent *Agariata*, the Captain of the Company that did the Miſchief, with forty others, to beg Peace; but Mr. *Courſel* was reſolved to make an Example of *Agariata*. He therefore ordered him to be Hang'd, in the Preſence of his Country-men, which kind of Death they having never ſeen before, it ſtruck them with Terror, & the *French*, think that this Severity was a great means of preſerving the Peace till the year 1683.

The *Dutch* having ſettled *New-York* in 1609. (which they call'd the *New-Netherlands*) they enter'd into an Alliance with the *Five Nations*, which continued without any Breach on either ſide, and were frequently uſeful to the

French, in saving the *French* that were Prisoners from the Cruelty of the *Indians*, as before observed.

In 1664. *New-York* was taken by the *English*, who immediately entred into an Alliance and Friendship with the *Five Nations*, which has continued without the least Breach to this Day. History, I am afraid, cannot inform us of an Instance of the *Most Christian* or *Most Catholick King* Observing a League so strictly, and for so long a time as these *Barbarians* have done.

Both the *English* and *French* (Peace being every where settled) endeavour to extend their Commerce and Alliances among the *Indians* which lie to the Westward of *New-York*. The *French* in their Measures discover'd a Design of Conquering and Commanding; for Mr. *de Frontenac*, who had succeeded in the Government of *Canada* in the Year 1672, perswaded the *Indians* to allow him to build a Fort at *Cadaracqui*, under the Notion of a Store for Merchandize and security for his Traders, and under the same pretence built small Forts at some other considerable Passes far in the Country.

The *English* and *Dutch* Prosecuted their Measures only with the Arts of Peace, by sending People among the *Indians* to gain their Affections, and to perswade them to come to *Albany* to Trade; but ev'n these honest

Designs

Designs met with Obstruction, and had not so considerable Success, by reason of the War with the *Dutch*, as otherwise they might have had; for in the Year 1674. *New-York* being Surpriz'd by the *Dutch*, and Restor'd, the alterations in Government and of Masters, obstructed very much the designs of gaining the *Indians*. Their Trade was likewise considerably hindred by the War, which the *Five Nations* had with the (*c*) *River Indians*, which forced many of the *River Indians* to seek shelter among the *Utawawas*, who fell under the *French* Government.

At last the *English*, *Dutch* and *French* having made Peace in *Europe*, and the Governor of *New-York* likewise having obtain'd a Peace between the *Five Nations* and *Mahikanders* or *River Indians*, the *English* and *French* were at full liberty to prosecute their designs of extending their Commerce among the *Indians*, which both did with very considerable success and advantage to the Inhabitants of their Colonies.

But this Justice must be done to the *French*, that they far exceeded the *English* in the daring attempts of some of their Inhabitants, in travelling very far among unknown *Indians*,

(*c*) The *Indians* living on the Banks of *Hudsons River*, within or near the *English* Settlements.

dians, discovering new Countries, and every where spreading the Fame of the *French* Name and Grandeur, by making themselves the Arbitrators in all difference between the *Indian Nations*. The Sieur *Perot* deserves to be remember'd, who pushed his Discoveries as far as the *Putewatemies* and Indians living round the farther Lakes, with the greatest Fatigues and Danger. He acquired the Languages of many Nations, and brought them to *Canada* to Trade, before the Peace was made with the *Five Nations*. In the Year 1667 he accompanied the Officer that was sent to the Fall of *St. Mary*, to take Possession of all that Country, in the name of the *French King*, in the presence of many of the Sachems of the Nations that liv'd round the Lakes, where there was an Alliance agree'd to with the *French*, but (ev'n by the *French* Books) no Subjection was Promised.

In the Year 1697. Mr. *De la Sale* built a Sloop or Bark of sixty Tons on *Ohswego Lake*, and provided her with great Guns. He carried this Vessel as far as *Missilimackinack*, and there loaded her with Furrs and Skins, and then went on the Discovery of the *Mississipi*. He only left five or six *French* on board to carry her back to *Oniagara*: But the *Indians* entertain'd such a Jealousy of this floating Castle, that they resolv'd secretly to destroy

it,

it, tho' they expreſt nothing to Mr. *De la Sale*, but Admiration of the extraordinary Machine, and ſent for all the Nations round to come to ſee it. When they were together they conſulted how to ſurprize and deſtroy it; and this deſign they kept ſo ſecret, not only before the Execution, that Mr. *De la Sale* had no ſuſpicion of it, but afterwards likewiſe, for it was long before it was known what became of this Veſſel. At firſt they thought of killing all the *French* among them, and throwing themſelves on the *Engliſh* for their Protection; but their Courage fail'd them. They thought they might act with more ſecurity after Mr. *De la Sale* and his Company ſhould be gone on their intended Diſcoveries. The *French* having no ſuſpicion of their deſigns, permitted a Number of *Indians* to come on board in a Bay where the Bark came to an Anchor, in her return, and the *Indians* taking advantage of their Nunbers, and the ſecurity of the *French*, murder'd the Men and burnt the Veſſel.

The Courage and Reſolution of theſe Gentlemen ought to be taken Notice of, for their Honour, notwithſtanding that the *Engliſh* ſay, that the Barrenneſs and Poverty of *Canada* puſhes the Men of Spirit there upon

upon Enterprizes they would not attempt if they liv'd in the Province of *New-York*.

CHAP. III.

The Affairs of the Five Nations *with the Neighbouring* English *Colonies.*

THE *Five Nations* being now amply supply'd with Fire-Arms and Ammunition, give full swing to their War-like Genius, and therefore resolv'd to Revenge the Affronts they had at any time receiv'd from their Neighbours. The nearest Nations as they were attackt, commonly flying to those that were further off, the *Five Nations* pursued This, together with a desire they had of Conquering and of making all the Nations round them their Tributaries, or to acknowledge the *Five Nations* to be their Masters, made the *Five Nations* over-run the greatest part of *North-America*. They carried their Arms as far *South* as *Carolina*, and to the *Northward* of *New-England*, and as far West as the *River Misissipi*, over a vast Country which extends 1200 Miles in Length, from North to South, and about six hundred Miles in Breadth, and entirely Destroyed many Nations that made Resistance.

These

These War-like Expeditions often prov'd Troublesom to the Colonies of *Virginia* and *Maryland*; for not only the Indians who were Friends to those Colonies, became Victims to the Fury of the *Five Nations*, but the *Christian* Inhabitants likewise were involv'd often in the same Calamity.

For this reason about the year 1677. the Government of *Maryland* sent Coll. *Coursey* to *Albany* to make a League of Friendship between *Virginia* and *Maryland* on the one part, and the *Five Nations* on the other; but this League was soon shaken by some Parties of the *Oneydoes*, *Onondagas* and *Sennekas*, who were out when this Covenant was made, and were ignorant of it. One of these Parties met with the *Susquehana Indians*, who were in Friendship with *Maryland*, and fell upon them, kill'd four, and took six Prisoners. Five of these Prisoners fell to the share of the *Sennekas*, who, as soon as they arriv'd in their Country, sent them back with Presents, to shew that they kept to their League with *Maryland*; but the *Oneydoes* detain'd the Prisoner they had.

Another Party that went against the *Canagesse Indians* (Friends of *Virginia*) were surprized by a Troop of *Virginia* Horse, who kill'd one Man and took a Woman Prisoner. The Indians in Revenge kill'd four of the Inhabi-

Inhabitants, and carried away their Scalps, with six *Christian* Prisoners.

The *Mohawks* all this while kept themselves strictly to their League, and suffered none of their Indians to go towards *Virginia* and *Maryland*.

There is reason to think that the *Dutch*, who lived at *Schenectady* at that time, spirited up the *Indians* against the *English*; For the Commander at *Albany* hearing that the *Five Nations*, (the *Onydoes* especially) were in an Alarm from some Jealousy that they had entertain'd of the *English* at *New-York* sent *Arnout* and *Daniel*, two Interpreters of the Indian Language, to perswade them to come to *Albany*, in order to be assured of the *English* Friendship, and to have their Jealousy remov'd. Which the Interpreters having happily brought to pass, *Sweriſſe*, one of the chief Men or Sachims of the *Onejdoes* excus'd his Country-men at *Albany*, the 15th of *February* 1678,9. as follows,

"*Father Corlaer*;

"WE are now come to speak to you of "some strange Occurences that have "lately happened.

"Last Harvest one of our Indians, call'd, "*Treuhtanendo*, went to *Schenectady* to buy "goods; he was told of the Mischief we had

"done

"done in *Virginia*; To which the People of "*Schenectady* added, That the *English* of this "Government were very Angry, and that "they would kill us.

"Soon afterwards another of our Indians, "call'd, *Adagounwa*, went to *Schenectady*, in "his way to *Albany*; He was told by the "People there, That if he went forward to "*Albany* he might sing to Morrow, for the "*English* there would bind and kill him; "Whereupon he and another *Indian* immedi- "ately returned, and brought this Report to "to our Castle at *Oneido*.

"But we now see the Governors good heart, "notwithstanding of all this bad News.

"At last the People of *Schenectady* told five "of our Indians, who intended for *Albany*, "That if they went forward they would all "be Dead Men; upon which one run im- "mediately back, but the other four went "forward. This Man, (who is called *Oun- "swahrarihta*) told us, That the other four "Men were taken by the *English*, and that two "or three hundred Men were upon their way "to fight us. Upon hearing of this, I ac- "knowledge, that though I, *Saweriſſe*, be a "Sachem, I left the Affair wholly to our "Soldiers, seeing that they were Soldiers "who came against us; Whereupon our Men "immediately Resolv'd to Fortifie the Castle.

"While this was doing the War-Shout was "raised. Our Men call'd out, *That Horse-men* "*came against us*; *Now we shall be put to it.* "These prov'd to be the two Interpreters, "who being receiv'd into the Castle, our "young Soldiers, whose Spirits had been ve- "hemently raised, run round them with their "Hatchets in their hands, threatning to kill "them. But I, *Swerisse*, did what I could to "pacifie our Men, and told the Messengers, "*That we would hear them to Morrow.*

"*Father Corlaer*; We desire that your Anger "may be appeased, and that your Mind may "be quieted. We give no credit to the "stories which our *Indians* brought us from "*Schenectady*, and we shall not believe any "such Stories for the future Seeing all of us "to the Westward, ev'n from *New-York* to the "*Senekas*, are under one Government, Why "is *Schenectady* the only bad place? for We "hold firmly to the Old Covenant.

Then he gave a Belt of Wampum (*d*)

He

(*d*) *Wampum* is the current Money among the *Indians*; it is made of the large Whelk Shell (*Briccinum*) and shaped like long Beads. With this, put upon strings, they make these Belts, which they give in all their Treaties, as signs of Confirmation, to remain with the other Party. The Wampum is of two sorts, *viz. White* and *Black*; the *Black* is the rarest, and most valuable. By a regular mixing of the

He in the next place gave an account of what had happened in *Virginia*, And then ſaid,

"*Father Corlaer*;

"Have Pity on our Indian Priſoners, as "We have had on theſe Priſoners (viz. *A Woman and her two Children*) "which we "now deliver to you, notwithſtanding that "they have been giv'n away, according to "our Cuſtom. We pray therefore his Ho- "nour to take Pity on our People that are "Priſoners, eſpecially on the *Indian* Woman, "his Kins-Woman, whom he hath adopted as "a Grand-Child. Let them be Releaſed, if "alive, otherwiſe give us ſome of the *Cana- "ſtoga Indians* in their room. As to the other "three Chriſtian Priſoners, the Woman and "her two Children that are yet with us, We "deſire firſt to have our Indians Reſtored, "or others in their room, before they be De- "livered.

---

the Black and White they diſtinguish their Belts with various Figures, which they often ſuit to the Occaſion of making uſe of them. *Wompum* is called *Zewant* by the *Dutch* in this Province.

Governor *Andros*, being acquainted by Letter with this last Propoſal of the *Oneydoes*, required the immediate Delivery of the Chriſtian Priſoners, and promiſed to write to *Virginia* to have the *Indian* Priſoners ſaved. Some Preſents being given to to the *Oneydoes*, they anſwered,

"We Thank the Governor for his good "Inclination and Affection. Our Heart is "good, and we ſee his Heart is likewiſe good; "if it was otherwiſe we could not live: We "thank the Governor for the Preſent now giv'n "us: It is his welcome from *England*.

"*Father Corlaer*, We are your Children, "and the *Mohawks*, your Brethren, are like-"wiſe our Fathers. We rejoyce becauſe your "Heartsare good. Since the Governor is "not ſatisfied with theſe three Priſoners, we "have now unanimouſly Reſolved to bring "the other three which are ſtill with us, as "ſoon as poſſible; but the Rivers are now ſo "full of Water, that we cannot bring them this "Moon, but the next Moon, I, *Swerisse*, pro-"miſe to come with them.

"We obey the Governor's Orders, that "we may not be aſhamed, and therefore We "Releaſe all the Priſoners. We hope the "Governor will likewiſe act ſo as he need "not be aſhamed.

"We do not now ſay, that we will ſee our Priſoners

"Prisoners before we deliver the other Chri-
"stians, but refer this Affair wholly to the
"Governor's Wisdom, which, we hope, will
"tend to our good and continued Wellfair.
"And say again, That we will bring the three
"Christian Prisoners by the first opportunity
"of fair Weather.

"We likewise make known to our Father
"*Corlaer*, That in our Fury and Anger (after
"the People of the South had fallen upon us)
"We took these six Prisoners, and afterwards
"four Scalps were brought by our People,
"and no more.

"We speak as *Oneydocs*, for our selves. If
"the *Susquehana* or *Delaware* Indians have
"done any Mischief, let not that be impu-
"ted to us.

"Eight of our People are now out against
"the *Christians*, of which we told *Aernout*
"and *Daniel* when they were at our Castle.
"They know nothing of what we have
"now agree'd to, and therefore if they should
"happen to do any harm, let it be passed
"by, for they are entirely Ignorant of the
"Governor's Orders. If they shall do any
"thing, we shall not keep it secret. If any
"of the *Christian* Prisoners shall dye before
"we bring them, we should be sorry; yet
"they are Mortal."

Accordingly in *May* following the *Oneydoes* brought

brought the other three Prisoners to *Albany*. And on the 24th of that Month *Sweriſſe* made the following Speech, when he deliver'd them to the Commander at *Albany*, and the Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs.

"*Bretheren*;

"WE are come to this place with much "Trouble, as we did last Winter, "and renew the Request we then made, that "six *Indians* be delivered to us in the room of "the six *Christians*, in case those of our People "who are Prisoners in *Virginia* be dead. None "of our *Indians* have gone out against the "*English* since we were last here; but we have "told you that some of ours were then out, who "were ignorant of the Governor's Orders, "and we desired that if they happen'd to "do any harm, it might not be ill taken. Now "thirteen of our People who went against "our *Indian* Enemies, met with eighteen "*English* on Horseback, as far from any of "the *English* Plantations as *Cahnuaga* (*e*) is "from *Albany*. They fir'd upon our Peo-"ple; ours being Soldiers, return'd their "Fire and kill'd two Men and two Horses, "and brought away their Scalps.

"It would be convenient that the Gover-

"nor

(*e*) The first *Mohawk* Castle.

" nor acquaint the People of *Virginia*, not to " ſend their Men ſo far abroad, for if they " ſhould happen to meet our Parties in their " way againſt our Enemies, the *Cahnowas*, " whom the *Engliſh* call *Arogiſti*, dangerous " Conſequences might follow.

" We have now ſubmitted to the Gover- " nor's Order, in bringing the three other " Chriſtian Priſoners. When we were here " laſt Winter, we left the Affair of our Pri- " ſoners wholy to the Governor, and pro- " miſed to bring the three Chriſtian Priſo- " ners that remain'd with us. This we have " now perform'd: But where are our Priſo- " ners, or if they be dead, the others in " their room, tho' it be already ſo late in " the Spring: However, we ſtill refer this " to the Governor.

(Then taking the *Chriſtian* Girl, who was a Priſoner, by the hand, ſaid) " This Girl " was deliver'd to an *Indian Squa* (*f*) here " preſent, who's Brother then was kill'd. " If we had been full of Wrath, and not " afraid of further Inconveniencies, we would " have burnt her.

(Taking the Boy, another of the three, by the hand, ſaid) " This Boy was giv'n to an " *Indian* here preſent, but he is now free.

" We

(*f*) A Woman.

"We have now perform'd our Promises, "and are not ashamed. We hope *Corlaer*, "who Governs the whole Country, will "likewise do that of which he needeth not "be ashamed.

"*Corlaer* governs the whole Land, from "*New-York* to *Albany*, and from thence to "the *Sennekas* Land; We who are his Sub-"jects shall faithfully keep the Covenant "Chain: Let him perform his Promise, as "we have perform'd ours, that the Covenant "Chain be not broken on his side, who go-"verns the whole Country.

"*Corlaers* Limits, as we have said, stretch "so far ev'n to *Jacob my Friend*, or *Jacob "Young*, and we have heard that *Corlaer* is "in good Correspondence with *Virginia* and "*Maryland*; Why is it then that our Peo-"ple, who are Prisoners, are not restored? "Let what we now say be well observed, "for we have observed the Governor's Or-"ders.

Lastly (taking the Woman Prisoner by the hand, said) "This Woman was given "to that *Indian*, (*pointing*,) but is now free, "being the sixth. If those of our People "who are Prisoners be Dead, let us have six "*Indians* in their room. It is not by my Au-"thority that these Prisoners have been re-"leased, but by the good Will of them to

"whom

" whom they were given.

" Our Soldiers are to go out againſt the " *Dewagunhas*, let us have Ammunition cheap."

Then the Commiſſioners gave them Preſents for their kind Uſage of the Priſoners.

After which *Sweriſſe* ſtood up and ſaid, " Let *Corlaer* take care that the *Indian Squa* " that is wanting come again, and for thoſe " that are killed, others in their room. If " *Corlaer* will not hearken to us in this Affair, " we ſhall not hereafter hearken to him in " any. "

They hearing afterwards that theſe laſt words were ill taken, *Sweriſſe*, *Jehonongera* and *Kanohguage*, three of the chief *Oneydo* Sachems excuſed it, ſaying, " What we ſaid of not " hearkening any more to *Corlaer*, was not " from the heart, but only by way of Diſ- " courſe, to make *Corlaer* more careful to " releaſe our People that are Priſoners; for " it was ſaid after your Anſwer, and without " laying down either Bever or any Belt or " Wampum, as we always do when we make " (*g*) Propoſitions; Therefore we deſire that

(*g*) The word *Propoſition* has been always uſed by the Commiſſioners for *Indian* Affairs at *Albany*, to ſignifie *Propoſals* or *Articles*, in the Treaties or Agreements made with the *Indians*.

" if it be noted, it may be blotted out, and " not made known to *Corlaer*; for we hold " firmly to our Covenant, as we said in our " Propositions.

They at the same time told, That the *Sinnondowans* (*b*) came to them with eight Belts, desiring that they should no longer prosecute the War with *Virginia*, or *Virginia Indians*, but to go with them to War against the *Dowaganhas*, (*i*) a Nation lying to the North-west ward; and that the *Sennekas* did desire them to set these *Christians* at Liberty, and to carry them to *Albany*. All which they said they promised to do.

The *Five Nations* continuing still to be troublesome to *Virginia*, that Government, in *September* following, sent Col. *William Kendall* and Col. *Southley Littleton* to *Albany*, to Renew and Confirm the League between *Virginia* and the *Five Nations*. Col. *Littleton* dy'd at *Albany* before the *Indians* arriv'd. Col. *Kendall* spoke to the *Oneydoes*, as follows,

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(*b*) A Castle of the *Sennekas*, from whence the *French* call all the *Sennekas*, *Issonontouan*.

(*i*) Comprehended under the General name of *Utawawas*.

The Propoſitions of Col. William Kendall *and Col.* Southley Littleton *Commiſſioners ſent by the Governor, Council and Burgeſſes of* Virginia, *at a Grand Aſſembly held in* James-City.

"WE are come from *Virginia*, being, "as all theſe Countries are, under "the Great King *Charles*, to ſpeak to "you upon Occaſion of ſome of yours ha- "ving entred our Houſes, taken away and "deſtroy'd our Goods and People, and "brought ſome of our Women and Chil- "dren Captives into your Caſtles, contrary "to your Faith and Promiſe. It is alſo a "Breach of the Peace made with Col. *Cour-* "*ſey*, without any Provocation or Injury in "the leaſt done by us, or diſturbing you in "your Hunting, Trade, or Paſſing, until you "were found taking our Corn out of our "Fields, and plundering and burning our "Houſes.

"Tho' your Actions already done are ſuf- "ficient Reaſons to enduce us to a violent "War againſt you, which might engage all "our Confederate *Engliſh* Neighbours, Sub- "jects to our great King *Charles*; yet through "the great Reſpect we have to and the Per- "ſwaſions of the Governor here, whom we "find your great Friend, and the Informa-

tion

" tion that he has given us, that you have " quietly and peaceably deliver'd to him " the Prisoners you had taken from us, who " are also returned safely into our Country, " and your Excusing the same, and Inclina- " tion to continue Peaceable, without Inju- " ring us for the future, We are therefore " willing, and have, and do forgive all the " Damages which you have done our Peo- " ple, tho' very great, Provided neither you " nor any living among you, for the future, " do not offend or molest our People or In- " dians living amongst us.

" And we do acquaint you, that we have " a Law in our Country, that all *Indians* " coming near *Christians* must stand still, and " lay down their Arms, as a token of their " being Friends, or otherwise are taken and " lookt upon or destroyed as Enemies. " Therefore desire you will take notice " thereof accordingly, for we have many of " our People in the Woods abroad every " way.

He spoke to the *Mohawks*, and the other Nations seperately from the *Oneydoes*, because the other Nations were supposed not to have done any Mischief.

" We are come here from *Virginia* upon " occasion of some of your Neighbours do- " ing of Mischief or Harm in our Country,

" which

"which upon the Interpoſition and Perſwa-
"ſion of the Governour here, we have who-
"ly paſſed by and forgiven. And being
"inform'd, that you are not concern'd there-
"in, but diſowning ſuch Actions, we did
"deſire to ſee you, and to let you know
"that continuing the like good peaceable
"Neighbourhood, you ſhall find us the ſame,
"and willing to do you Friendſhip at all
"times, but we muſt acquaint you, that we
"have a Law, *&c.*" (repeating the ſame words which he ſpoke to the *Oneydoes* on that ſubject.)

On the Twentyfifth, he thought it neceſſary to repeat this laſt Speech to the *Mohawks* by themſelves, who after they had receiv'd ſome Preſents, anſwered on the Twentyſixth before Noon,

"WE are glad to ſee you here, and to
"ſpeak with you in this place, where
"we never ſaw you before. We underſtood
"your Propoſitions; We thank you for your
"Preſents and ſhall give you an Anſwer After-
"noon.

In the Afternoon they ſaid,

"*Bretheren*;

"You have had no ſmall trouble to come
"hither from *Virginia*, for it is a long Journey.
"We are at your requeſt, and with our Go-

"vernors

" vernors Consent, come to meet you in this " House, which is appointed for our Treaties, " to hear you speak, and to give you an An- " swer. But before we give an Answer, we " make the appointed House clean by giving " this (*k*) Fathom of Wampum.

" We just now said, that your long Journey " must have not been without much Fatigue, " especially to you who are an Old Man. I am " old likewise, and therefore I give you this " Fathom of Wampum to mitigate your pain.

" In the Beginning of your Speech you tell " us of the League or Covenant made with " Coll. *Coursey*. We remember it very well, " that it was made in our Governors Presence. " We have kept it hitherto, and are resolv'd " to keep it Inviolably. We are glad to see " you here, to renew this Covenant. You do " better than the People of the *East*, (*New-* " *England*) who made a Covenant at the same " time; for we have seen none of them since, " to renew and keep up the Remembrance of " it.' Then they gave a Fathom of Wampum.

" We have said what we have to say, as to " the Covenant made with Coll. *Coursey*. You " desire

(*k*) A Fathom of *Wampum* is a single string of *Wampum* of that length, it is of less value than the Belts, and therefore given in Matters of smaller Consequence; and by cleaning the House, they mean putting away *Hypocrisy* and *Deceit*.

"desire us likewise to continue our good "Neighbourhood. This we not only pro- "mise to do, but likewise to keep the (*l*) "Chain, which cannot be broken, clean and "bright, and therefore we desire you to do "the same.' Then gave a Belt of Wampum twelve deep.

"We are glad that by the Interposition "and Perswasion of our Governor, the "Mischeif which our Neighbours did in your "Country is passed over, and now wholly "forgiven. Let it be buried in Oblivion; "for if any mischief should befal them "(seeing we make but one body with them,) "we must have partaken with them. We "approve of your Law, to lay down our "Arms as a token of Friendship, and we "shall do so for the future.' Then gave a Belt fourteen deep.

"We were told before we heard your "Propositions, that one of the Agents from "*Virginia* was Dead. We lament and bewail "his Death, but admire that nothing was "laid down, according to our Custom, when "the Death of such a Person was signified to "us. We give you this Belt of Black "Wampum (thirteen deep) to wipe away "your Tears. The

(*l*) The *Indians* always express a League by a Chain by which two or more things are kept fast together.

The *Onnondagas* did not come till *November*, on the 5th of which Month the *Virginia* Agent spoke to them in the same words he had done to the *Oneydoes*. None of their Answers appear upon the Registers, except the *Mohawks*, which we have given. It is certain that the *Onnondagas* and *Oneydoes* did not observe the Peace with *Virginia*, but molested them with the reiterated Incursions of their Parties. It is observable however, that these two Nations and the *Cayugas* only, had received *French Priests* among them, and that none of the rest who were not under the Influence of those Priests, ever molested the *English*; for which reason Coll. *Dongan*, tho' a *Papist*, complained of the ill Offices the Priests did to the *English* Interest, and forbid the *Five Nations* to entertain any of them, tho' the *English* and *French* Crowns, while he was Governor of *New-York*, in King *James*'s Reign, seem'd to be more than ever in strict Friendship.

The *French* could have no hopes of perswading the *Indians* to hurt any of the Inhabitants of *New-York*, but they were in hopes, that by the *Indian* Parties doing frequently Mischief in *Virginia*, the Government of *New-York* would be forced to joyn in resenting the Injury, and thereby that Union between the Government of *New-York* and the *Five Nations* would be broke, which always obstructed

ſtructed and often defeated the Deſigns of the *French*, to ſubject all *North-America* to the Crown of *France*. For this reaſon the Governors of *New-York* have always, with the greateſt Caution, avoided a Breach with theſe Nations, on account of the little Differences they had with the Neighbouring Colonys.

Theſe new Incurſions of theſe two Nations were ſo troubleſome to the People of *Virginia*, that their Governor, the Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, thought it neceſſary for their Security, to undertake a Voyage to *New-York*.

The Sachems of the *Five Nations* being call'd to *Albany*, his Lordſhip met there eight *Mohawk*, three *Oneydoe*, three *Onnondaga* and three *Cayuga* Sachems, and on the Thirtieth of *July*, 1684. being accompanied with two of the Council of *Virginia*, he ſpoke to them as follows, in the preſence of Col. *Thomas Dongan*, Governor of *New-York*, two of the Council of *New-York*, and the Magiſtrates of *Albany*. The *Sennekas* living far off were not then arriv'd.

Propoſitions

Propositions made by the Right Honourable Francis *Lord* Howard *of* Effingham, *Governor General of His Majesty's Dominion of* Virginia,

To the Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onnondagas *and* Cayugas.

" IT is now about seven years ago since " you (unprovok'd) came into *Virginia*, a " Country belonging to the Great King of " *England*, and committed several Murders " and Robberys, carrying away our *Christian* " Women and Children Prisoners into your " Castles. All which Injurys we designed " to have Revenged on you; but at the de- " sire of Sir *Edmond Andross*, then Governor " General of this Country, we desisted from " destroying you, and sent our Agents Col. " *William Kendall* and Col. *Southley Littleton*, to " Confirm and make sure the Peace that Col. " *Coursey* of *Maryland* included us in, when " first he Treated with you. We find, that " as you quickly forgot what you promised " Col. *Coursey*, so you have willfully broke " the Covenant Chain, which you promised " our Agent, Col. *Kendall*, should be most " strong and bright, if we of *Virginia*, would " bury in the Pit of Oblivion, the Injurys " you had then done us, which upon your " Governor *Andross*'s Intercession, and your

" Sub-

" Submiſſion, we were willing to forget;
" But you not at all minding the Covenant
" then made, have every year ſince, come into
" our Country, in a War-like manner, under
" pretence of Fighting with our *Indians*, our
" Friends and Neighbours, which you ought
" not to have done, our Agent having enclu-
" ded them likewiſe in the Peace. You not
" only deſtroyed and took many of them
" Priſoners, but you have alſo kill'd and
" burnt our *Chriſtian People*, deſtroying our
" Corn and Tobacco, more than you made uſe
" of, killing our Horſes, Hogs and Cattle,
" not to eat, but let them ly in the Woods
" and ſtink. This you did, when you were
" not denyed any thing you ſaid you want-
" ed.

" I muſt alſo tell you, that under the pre-
" tence of Friendſhip, you have come to our
" Houſes at the heads of our Rivers (where
" they have been fortified) with a white Sheet
" on a Pole, and have laid down your Guns
" before the Fort, upon which our People
" taking you to be Friends, have admitted
" your great Men into their Forts, and have
" given them Meat and Drink, what they
" deſired. After the great Men had refreſhed
" themſelves, and deſiring to return, as they
" were let out of the Fort Gates, the young
" Men ruſhed into the Fort and plunder'd the

" House, taking away and destroying all the " Corn, Tobacco, Bedding, and what else " was in the House. When they went away, " they took several Sheep with them, and " kill'd several Cows big with Calf, and left " them behind them, cut to pieces and flung " about, as if it were in Defiance of the Peace, " and destroying of our Friendship.

" These, and many more Injurys that you " have done us, have caused me to raise " Forces, to send to the heads of our Rivers " to defend our People from your Outrages, " till I came to *New-York* to Col. *Thomas Dongan*, " your Governor General, to desire him, as " we are all one Kings Subjects, to assist me " in Warring against you, to Revenge the " *Christian* Blood that you have shed, and to " make you give full Satisfaction for all the " goods that you destroyed. But by the " Mediation of your Governor, I am now " come to *Albany* to speak with you, and to " know the reason of your breaking the Cove- " nant Chain, not only with us and our neigh- " bour *Indians* but with *Maryland*, who are " great King *Charles*'s Subjects; for our *Indians* " have giv'n great King *Charles* their Land. " Therefore I, the Governor of *Virginia*, will " protect them, as your Governor under the " Great *Duke* of *York* and *Albany*; will hence- " forth you, when the Chain of Friendship is " made between us all. " Now

" Now that I have let you know that I am " ſenſible of all the Injurys that you have " done us, by the deſire of your noble Go- " vernor General, I am willing to make a new " Chain with you for *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and " our *Indians*, that may be more ſtrong and " laſting, even to the World's end, ſo that " we may all be Bretheren and Great King " *Charles*'s Children.

" I propoſe to you, *Firſt*, That you call " out of our Countrys of *Virginia* and *Mary-* " *land* all your young Men or Soldiers that " are now there.

" *Secondly*, That you do not hinder or moleſt " our Friend *Indians* from Hunting at our " Mountains, it having been their Country " and none of yours. They never go into " your Country to diſturb any of you.

" *Thirdly*, Tho' the Damages you have " done our Country be very great, and " would require a great deal of Satisfaction, " which you are bound to give, yet we aſ- " ſure you, that only by the Perſwaſions of " your Governor, who is at a vaſt deal of " Trouble and Charge for your Wellfare, " which you ever ought to acknowledge, " I have paſſed it by and forgiven you, " upon this Condition, that your People, " nor any living among you, never commit " any Incurſions on our *Chriſtians* or *Indians*

" living

" living among us, or in *Maryland*.

" For the better Confirmation of the ſame " and that the Peace now concluded, may " be laſting, I propoſe to have two (*m*) " Hatchets buried as a final Determination " of all Wars and Jarrings between us: " One on behalf of us and our *Indians*, and " the other for all your Nations united to- " gether, that ever did us any Injury, or " pretended to War againſt our *Indian* Friends " or *Maryland*.

" And that nothing may be wanting for " Confirmation thereof, (if you deſire it) " we are willing to ſend ſome of our *Indian* " Sachems with an Agent next Summer, " about this time, that they may Ratifie the " Covenant with you here in this prefixed " Houſe, where you may ſee and ſpeak to- " gether as Friends.

" That the Covenant now made between " us in this prefixed Houſe, in the preſence " of your Governor, may be firmly kept " and perform'd on your parts, as it always " has on ours, and that you do not break " any one Link of the Covenant Chain for " the future, by your Peoples coming near " our Plantations; When you march to the " South-

(*m*) All Indians make uſe of the Hatchet or Ax as an Emblem to expreſs War.

" Southward, keep to the feet of the Moun-
" tains, and not come nigh the heads, of our
" Rivers, there being no Bever Hunting
" there; for we ſhall not for the future
" (tho' you lay down your Arms as Friends)
" ever truſt you more, you have ſo often
" deceiv'd us.

The next Day the Mohawks *anſwered firſt by their Speaker, ſaying,*

" WE muſt, in the firſt place, ſay
" ſomething to the other three Na-
" tions by way of Reproof for their not keep-
" ing the former Covenant, as they ought,
" and therefore we deſire you, great Sachem
" of *Virginia*, and you *Corlaer*, and all Peo-
" ple here preſent, to hearken, for we will
" conceal nothing of the Evil they have done.
(Then turning to the other three Nations)
" You have heard Yeſterday all that has been
" ſaid; as for our parts, we are free of the blame
" laid on us for the Miſchief done in *Virgi-*
" *nia* and *Maryland*. You are Stupid, Bru-
" tiſh, and have no Underſtanding, thus to
" break your Covenant. We have always
" been obedient to *Corlaer* and have ſteadily
" kept our Covenant with *Virginia*, *Mary-*
" *land* and *Boſton*; we muſt therefore Stamp
" Underſtanding into you. Let the Cove-
" nant

" nant made Yesterday, be carefuly kept for " the future. This we earnestly recommend " to you; for we are ready to cry, for shame " of you. Let us be no more ashamed on " your Account, but be obedient, and take " this Belt to keep what we say in your " Remembrance.

" Hear now, now is the time to hearken. " The Covenant Chain had very near slipt. " You have not observ'd your Covenant. " Observe it now, when all former Evil is " buried in the Pit.

" You *Oneydoes*, I speak to you as (*n*) Chil- " dren. Be no longer void of Understand- " ing.

" You *Onnondagas*, our Bretheren, you are " like Deaf People, that cannot hear, your " Senses are cover'd with Dirt and Filth.

" You *Cayugas*, Do not return into your " former ways. There are three things we " must all observe.

" *First*, The Covenant with *Corlaer*. *Secondly*, The Covenant with *Virginia* and *Maryland*. " *Thirdly*, The Covenant with *Boston*. We " must Stamp Understanding into you, that " you may be obedient. And Take this Belt " for a Remembrancer.

Then

(*n*) The *Mohawks* always call the *Oneydoes* Children, and the *Oneydoes* acknowledge the *Mohawks* to be their Fathers.

Then *Odianne*, the ſame *Mohawk* Speaker, turning to my Lord, ſpoke in behalf of all the four Nations.

"We are very thankful to you, great Sachem "of *Virginia*, that you are pleaſed to be per- "ſwaded by *Corlaer*, our Governor, to forgive "all former Faults. We are very glad to hear "you and to ſee your Heart ſoftned. Take "theſe three Bevers as a Token.

"We thank the great Sachem of *Virginia* "for ſaying, that the Ax ſhall be thrown into "the Pit. Take theſe two Bevers as a Token "of our Joy and Thankfulneſs.

"We are glad that (*o*) *Aſſarigoa*, will bury "in the Pit what is paſt, and ſtamp thereon. "Let a ſtrong ſtream likewiſe run under the "Pit, to waſh the evil all away. *Gives 2 Bevers.*

"My Lord, you are a Man of great Know- "ledge and Underſtanding, thus to keep the "Covenant Chain bright as Silver, and now "again to Renew it, and make it ſtronger.

(Then pointing to the othe three Nations ſaid,) "But they are Covenant Breakers. I "lay down this as a Token that we *Mohawks* "have kept the Covenant entire on out parts. Giving two Bevers and a Raccoon.

"The Covenant muſt be kept; for the fire

(*o*) The Name which the *Five Nations* always give the Governors of *Virginia*.

"of Love of *Virginia* and *Maryland* burns in "this place, as well as ours, and this Covenant "House must be kept clean. Gives two Bevers.

"We now plant a (*p*) Tree, who's tops "will reach the Sun, and its Branches spread "far abroad, so that it shall be seen afar off; & "we shall shelter ourselves under it, and live in "Peace, without molestation. *Gives two Bevers.*

"You proposed yesterday, that if we were "desirous to see the *Indians* of *Virginia*, you "are willing to send some of their Sachems "next Summer about this time to this Place. "This Proposal pleases us very much. The "sooner they come, it will be the better, that "we may speak with them in this House, which "is apointed for our speaking with our Friends. And gave two Belts to confirm it.

"You have now heard what Exhortation we "have made to the other three Nations. We "have taken the Hatchet out of their hands. "We now therefore pray, that your Hatchet "may likewise be buried in the Pit. Giving two Bevers,

"Let the River be secure, for we some-"times make Propositions to the *Raritan* and "*Nevesink Indians*; but above all, let your "*Virginia Indians* come securely hither, that "we

(*p*) The *Five Nations* always express *Peace* under the Metapher of a *Tree*, in this manner.

"we may keep a good Correſpondence with "them.

"*My Lord*, Some of us *Mohawks* are out "againſt Our Enemies that live à far off. "When they come near your Plantations, "they will do you no harm, nor Plunder as "the others do. Be kind to them, if they "ſhall happen to come to any of your Plan- "tations. Give them ſome Tobacco and ſome "Victuals; for they will neither Rob nor "Steal, as the *Oneydoes*, *Ononiagas* and *Cayugas* "have done.

"The *Oneydoes* particularly Thank your "Lordſhip for hearkening to lay down the "Ax. The Hatchet is taken out of all their hands. And gives a Belt.

"We again thank your Lordſhip, that the "Covenant Chain is Renewed. Let it be kept "clean and bright, and held faſt, Let not any "one pull his Arm from it. We enclude all "the *Four Nations* in giving this Belt.

"We again pray your Lordſhip, to take "the *Oneydoes* into your Friendſhip, and that "you keep the Covenant Chain ſtrong with "them; for they are in our Covenant. Gives a Belt.

The *Oneydoes* give twenty Bevers, as ſatis- faction for what they promiſed my Lord *Baltimore*, and deſire that they may be Diſ- charged.

My Lord and the Governor told them, That they would use their Endeavours with the Lord *Baltimore*, to persuade him to forgive what remained.

Then the *Indians* desired that the Hole might be digged, to bury the Axes, *viz.* One in behalf of *Virginia* and their *Indians*, another in behalf of *Maryland* and their *Indians*, and three for the *Oneydoes*, *Onnondagas* and *Cayugas*. The *Mohawks* said, there was no need of burying any on their Account; for the first Chain had never been broke by them.

Then the three Nations spoke by an *Onnondaga*, call'd *Thanohjanihta*, who said,

" We Thank the great Sachem of *Virginia*, " that he has so readily forgiven and forgot " the Evil that has been done; And We, on " our parts, gladly catch at and lay hold of the " Chain." Then each of them deliver an Ax to be buried, and gave a Belt.

The Speaker added, " I speak in the Name " of all three Nations, and inculde them in " this Chain, which we desire may be kept " clean and bright like Silver. Gives a Belt.

" We desire that the Path may be open for " the *Indians*, under your Lordships Protection, " to come safely and freely to this place, in " order to confirm this Peace." Gives six Fathom of Wampum.

Then the Axes were buried in the South-

east

east end of the Court-yard, and the *Indians* threw the Earth upon them. After which my Lord told them, *That since now a firm Peace was concluded, We shall hereafter remain Friends, and* Virginia *and* Maryland *will send once in two or three years to Renew it, and some of Our* Indian *Sachems shall come, according to your desire, to Confirm it.*

Last of all, the *Oneydoes*, *Onnondagas* and *Cayugas*, joyntly, sang the *Peace Song*, with Demonstrations of much Joy; and Thank'd the Governor of *New-York* for his effectual Mediation with the Governor of *Virginia*, in their favour.

The *Mohawks* by themselves, and the other three Nations by themselves, spoke to the Governor of *New-York*, much to the same purpose that they did to the Governor of *Virginia*, so far as it related to the Affair of *Virginia*, but with some particular Marks of Personal Esteem; for he had won their Affections by his former carriage towards them. And they desired the *Duke of York*'s Arms to put upon their Castles. Which, we may suppose, they were told, would save them from the *French*.

Coll. *Dongan* desired them to call home those of

of their Nations that had ſettled in *Canada*. (*q*) To which they anſwered, '*Corlaer* keeps a 'Correſpondence with *Canada*, and therefore 'he can prevail more than we can. Let *Corlaer* 'uſe his endeavours to draw our *Indians* home 'to their own Country. And gave a Bever.

At the ſame Time, the Government of the the *Maſſachuſets-Bay* had appointed Coll. *Stephanus Cortlandt*, one of the Council of *New-York*, their Agent, to Renew their Covenant with the *Five Nations*, and to give them ſome ſmall Preſents: Which was accordingly done.

The Governor of *New-York*, Coll. *Dongan*, concluded all, with this Advice to them, *Keep a good Underſtanding among your Selves: If any Difference ſhould happen, acquaint me with it, and I will compoſe it. Make no Covenant or Agreement with*

(*q*) The *French* Prieſts had (from time to time) perſwaded ſeveral of the *Five Nations* to leave their own Country, and to ſettle near *Montreal*, where the *French* are very induſtious in encouraging them. Their Numbers have been likewiſe encreaſed by the Priſoners the *French* have taken in War, and by others who have run from their own Country, becauſe of ſome Miſchief that they had done, or Debts which they ow'd to the *Chriſtians*. Theſe *Indians* all profeſs *Chriſtianity*, and therefore are commonly call'd *The Praying Indians* by their Country-men, and they are called *Cahnuagas* by the People of *Albany*.

with the French, *or any other Nation, without my Knowledge or Approbation.* Then he gave the Dukes Arms, to be put upon each of their Caſtles, in hopes it might deter the *French* from attacking them (as they were threaten'd from *Canada*) after they had ſo manifeſtly declared themſelves to be under the Protection of the Crown of *England*.

Before I proceed further it will be neceſſary to incert a Remarkable Speech made by the *Onnondagas* and *Cayugas*, to the two Governors, on the 2d day of *Auguſt*, *viz.*

Brother Corlaer;

"YOur Sachem is a great Sachem, and We "are but a ſmall People. But when the "*Engliſh* came firſt to *Manhatan*; (*r*) *Aragiske*, "(*ſ*) and to *Yakokranagary*, (*t*) they were "then but a Small People, and we Great. "Then, becauſe we found you a good People, "we treated you civilly, and gave you Land. "We hope therefore, now that you are Great "and we Small, you will protect us from the "*French*. If you do not, we ſhall looſe all "our Hunting, and our Bevers. The *French* "will

(*r*) *New-York.* (*ſ*) *Virginia.* (*t*) *Maryland.*

" that lives on the other side the great Lake,
" know this, that We being a Free People,
" tho' united to the *English*, may give our
" Lands, and be joyn'd to the Sachem we like
" best. We give this Bever to Remember
" what we say.

The *Senekas* arrived soon after, and on the 5th of *August* spoke to my Lord *Howard* in the following manner.

" WE have heard and understood what
" Mischief hath been done in *Vir-*
" *ginia*. We have it as perfect as if it were
" upon our Fingers ends. O *Corlaer!* We
" Thank you for having been our Intercessor,
" so that the Ax hath not fallen upon Us.
" And you, *Assar'goa*, great Sachem of *Vir-*
" *ginia*, We Thank you for burying all Evil
" in the Pit. We are inform'd, that the
" *Mohawks*, *Oneydoes*, *Onnondagas* and *Cayugaes*
" have buried the Ax already; Now we that
" live the remotest off, are come to do the
" same, and to include in this Chain the *Cah-*
" *nawaas*, your Friends, who live amongst
" you. We desire therefore, that an Ax, on our
" part, may be buried with one of my Lords.
" O *Corlaer! Corlaer!* We Thank you for
" holding one end of the Ax: And We thank
" you, great Governor of *Virginia*, not only

" for

" for throwing aside the Ax, but more espe-
" cially for your puting all Evil from your
" Heart. Now we have a New Chain, a
" strong and a streight Chain that cannot be
" broken. The *Tree of Peace* is planted so
" firmly that it cannot be moved. Let us on
" both sides hold the Chain fast.

" We understand what you said of the
" great Sachem that lives on the other side
" the great Water.

" You tell us, that the *Cahnawaas* will
" come hither to strengthen the Chain. Let
" them not make any Excuse, that they are
" Old and Feeble, or that their Feet are Sore.
" If the Old Sachems cannot, let the Young
" Men come. We shall not fail to come
" hither, tho' we live the fartheſt off, and
" then the New Chain will be stronger and
" brighter.

" We understand, that because of the Mis-
" chief which has been done to the People
" and Cattle of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, we
" must not come near the Heads of your
" Rivers, nor near your Plantations, but keep
" at the foot of the Mountains; for tho' we
" lay down our Arms, as Friends, we shall
" not be trusted for the future, but look'd on
" as Robbers. We agree, however, to this
" Proposition, and shall wholly stay away
" from *Virginia*: And this we do in gratitude

" to *Corlaer*, who has been at so great Pains " to perswade you, *Great Governor of Virginia*, " to forget what is past. We commend your " Understanding, in giving ear to *Corlaer*'s " good Advice; and we shall go a Path which " was never trod before.

" We have now done speaking to *Corlaer*, " and the Governor of *Virginia*. Let the Chain " be forever kept clean and bright, and we " shall do the same.

" The other Nations, from the *Mohawks* " Country to the *Cayugas*, have deliver'd up " the *Susquehana River*, and all that Country, " to *Corlaer*'s Government. We Confirm " what they have done, by giving this Belt. " Ten Bevers are at the *Onnondagas* Castle in " their way hither; We design five of them " for *Corlaer*, and the other five for the Sachem " of *Virginia*.

Coll. *Bird*, one of the Council of *Virginia*, and *Edmond Jennings*, Esq; Attorney General of that Province, came with four *Indian* Sachems, (according to my Lord *Howard*'s Promise) to Renew and Confirm the Peace, and met the *Five Nations* at *Albany* in *September*, 1685.

Coll. *Bird* accus'd them of having again broke their Covenant, by taking an *Indian* Girl from

from an *English* Mans Houſe, and four *Indian* Boys Priſoners.

They excuſed this, by its being done by the Parties that were out when the Peace was concluded, who knew nothing of it; Which Accidents they had provided againſt in their Articles. They ſaid, The four Boys were given to the Relations of thoſe Men that were loſt, and it would be very difficult to obtain their Reſtoration. But they promiſed to deliver them up.

The *Senekas* and *Mohawks* declared themſelves free of any blame, and chid the other Nations.

So that we may ſtill obſerve the Influence which the *French Prieſts* had obtain'd over thoſe other Nations, and to what Chriſtian-like Purpoſes they us'd it.

The *Mohawks* Speaker ſaid, *Where ſhall I ſeek the Chain of Peace? Where ſhall I find it, but upon Our Path? And whither doth Our Path lead us, but unto this Houſe? This is a Houſe of Peace.* And ſang all the Covenant Chain over. He afterwards ſang by way of Admonition to the *Onnondagas*, *Cayugas* and *Oneydoes*, and concluded all with a Song to the *Virginia Indians*. But I ſuppoſe our Interpreters were not Poets enough to Tranſlate the Songs, otherwiſe I might have gratified the Reader with a taſte of *Indian Poetry*.

The

The *French Priests* still had an Influence over the *Onnondagas*, *Cayugas* and *Oneydoes*, and it was easie for them to spirit up the *Indians* (naturally Revengeful) against their old Enemies. This occasion'd a Party of the *Oneydoes* going out two years afterwards against the *Wayanoak Indians*, Friends of *Virginia*, and killing some of the People of *Virginia*, who assisted those *Indians*. They took six Prisoners, which they restored at *Albany*, with an Excuse, That they did not know that they were Friends of *Virginia*, and included in the Chain with *Virginia*. Coll. *Dongan*, on this Occasion, told them That he only had kept all the *English* in *North-America* from joyning together to Destroy them; And at the same time threatned them That if ever he should hear of the like Complaint, he would dig up the Hatchet, and joyn with the rest of the *English* to cut them off, Root and Branch; for there were many Complaints made of him to the King by the *English*, as well as the Governor of *Canada*, for his favouring of them.

Now we have gone through the Materials Transactions which the *Five Nations* had with the *English*, in which we find the *English* pursuing nothing but *Peaceable* and *Christian Measures*, and the *Five Nations* (tho' *Barbarians*) living like good Neighbours and faithful

Friends

Friends, except when they were influenced by the Arts of the Jesuits; Tho' at the same time one cannot but admire the Zeal, Courage and Resolution of these Jesuits, that would adventure to live among *Indians* at War with their Nation; and the better to carry their Purposes, to comply with all the Humors and Manners of such a Wild People, so as not to be distinguished by strangers from meer *Indians*. One of them, nam'd *Milet*, remain'd with the *Oneydoes* till after the year 1694. he was advanced to the degree of a Sachem, and had so great an Influence over them, that the other Nations could not prevail with them to part with him. While he remain'd with them, the *Oneydoes* were frequently turn'd against the *Southern Indians* (Friends of the *English* Southern Colonies) and were always wavering in their Resolutions against *Canada*.

We shall now Return to see what effect the *French Policy* had, who pursued very different Measures from the *English*.

CHAP

CHAP. IV.

Mr. De la Barre's *Expedition, and some Remarkable Transactions in* 1684.

THE *French* in the Time they were at Peace with the *Five Nations*, built their Fort at *Teiodondoraghi* or *Missilimakinak*; and made a Settlement there. They carried their Commerce among the Numerous Nations that live on the Banks of the great *Lakes*, and the Banks of the *Mississipi*. They not only prosecuted their Trade among these Nations, but did all they could to secure their Obedience, and to make them absolutely subject to the *Crown of France*, by building Forts at the considerable Passes, and placing small Garrisons in them. They took all the Precautions in their Power, not only to restrain the *Indians* by Force, but likewise to gain their Affections, by sending Missionaries among them. The only Obstruction they met with, was from the *Five Nations*, who introduced the *English* of *New-York* into the Lakes, to Trade with the *Indians* that liv'd round them. This gave the *French* much uneasiness, because they fore-saw, that the *English* would not only prove dangerous Rivals, but that the Advantages which

which they enjoy'd in Trade, beyond what it was possible for the Inhabitants of *Canada* to have, would enable the People of *New-York* so far to under-sell them, that their Trade would soon be Ruin'd, and all the Interest lost which they had gain'd with so much Labour and Expence. The *Five Nations* likewise continued in War with many of the Nations, the *Chictaghiks* particularly, who yielded the most Profitable Trade to the *French*; and as often as they discover'd any of the *French* carrying Ammunition towards these Nations, they fell upon them, and took all their Powder, Lead and Arms from them. This made the *French* Traders afraid of travelling, and prevented their *Indians* from hunting, and lessen'd the Opinion they had of the *French Power*, when they found that the *French* were not able to protect them against the Insults of the *Five Nations*.

The *Sennekas* lie next to the Lakes, and neareſt to the Nations with whom the *French* Traded, and were so averse to the *French* Nation, that they never would receive any Priest among them, and of consequence were most firmly attached to the *English Interest*, who supplyed them with Arms and Powder, (the means to be Revenged of their Enemies.) For these Reasons Mr. *De la Barre* (the Governor of *Canada*) sent a Messenger to Coll.

" had furnished our Enemies with Ammuni-
" tion; but we are disapointed in our hopes;
" for we find that our Enemies are still
" supplied. Is this well done? Yea, he often
" forbids us to make War on any of the
" Nations with whom he Trades, and at the
" same time furnishes them with all sorts of
" Ammunition, to enable them to destroy
" us.

" Thus far in Answer to the Complaints
" which the Governor of *Canada* hath made of
" Us to *Corlaer*. *Corlaer* said to us, that
" Satisfaction must be made to the *French* for
" the Mischief we have done them. This
" he said before he heard our Answer. Now
" let him that hath Inspection over all
" our Countries, on whom our Eyes are
" fix'd, let him, ev'n *Corlaer* judge and de-
" termine. If you say it must be paid, we
" shall pay it, but we cannot live without
" free Bever-hunting.

" *Corlaer*, Hear what we say, We Thank
" you for the Dukes Arms which you have
" given us to be put on our Castles, as a De-
" fence to them. You command them. Have
" we wander'd out of the way, as the Go-
" vernor of *Canada* says. We do not threaten
" him with War, as he threatens us. What
" shall we do? Shall we run away, or shall
" we sit still in our Houses? What shall we

" do?

" do? We ſpeak to him that Governs and " Commands us.

" Now *Corlaer* and *Aſſarigoa*, and all People " here preſent, Remember what we have " anſwered to the Complaints of the Gover- " nor of *Canada*; Yea, let what we ſay come " to his Ears." Then they gave a Belt, and ſaid, there was five Bevers at *Onondaga* for the Governor.

Monſ. *De la Barre* at this time was gone with all the Force of *Canada* to *Cadarackui Fort*, and order'd the three Veſſels to be repaired, which the *French* had built on that Lake. His deſign was to frighten the *Five Nations* into his own Terms by the Appearance of ſo great an Army, which conſiſted of 600 Soldiers, 400 Indians, and 400 Men that carried Proviſions, beſides 300 Men that he left to ſecure *Cadarackui Fort*. But while he was at this Fort, the Fatigue of Traveling in the Month of *Auguſt* together with the Unhealthineſs of that place (the Country thereabout being very Marſhy) where he tarryed ſix weeks, occaſioned ſo great a Sikneſs in his Army, that he found himſelf unable to Perform any thing, but by Treaty, and therefore ſent Orders to Monſ. *Dulhut*, who was come from *Miſſilimakinak* with 600 men *French* and *Indians*, to ſtop. He paſſed a Croſs the Lake with as many men as were able to Travel, and arrived

at

at the River which the *French* call *La Famine*, and by the *Indians* call'd *Kaihohage*, which runs from the *Onnondaga* and *Oneydo* Countrys, and falls into *Cadarackui Lakes*. There were two Villages of the *Five Nations* on the North side of the Lake, about five or six Leagues from the *French* Fort, consisting of those *Indians* that had the most Inclination to the *French*: They provided the *French* Army with Provisions, while they remain'd at the Fort; but it is probable, sent an account to their own Nations of every thing that happen'd, which was the Reason of the Usage they afterwards met with from the *French*.

When Mr. *De la Barre* sent to Coll. *Dongan*, he was in hopes, from the strict Alliance that was then between the Crowns of *England* and *France*, and from Coll. *Dongan*'s being a *Papist*, that he would sit still till he had reduced the *Five Nations*. But none of these Reasons permitted that Gentleman to be easie while the *French* attempted such things, as in their consequence would be to the highest degree Prejudicial to the *English Interest*, & put all the *English* Colonies in *America* in danger. Wherefore he dispatch'd the Publick Interpreter, with Orders to do every thing in his Power to prevent the *Five Nations* going to Treat with Mr. *De la Barre*.

The Interpreter succeeded in his Design with

with the *Mohawks*, and with the *Sennekas*, who promis'd that they would not go near the *French* Governor. But he had not the like Succeſs with the *Onnondagas*, *Oneydoes* and *Cayugas*, who had receiv'd the *French Prieſts*. For they would not hear the Interpreter, but in Preſence of the *French Prieſt*, and of Mr. *Le Maine*, whom the Indians call *Ohqueſſe* (*y*) and three other *French Men*, that Mr. *De la Barre* had ſent to perſwade them to meet him at *Kaihohage*, ten Leagues from the *Onnondaga* Caſtle. They gave the following Anſwer to the Interpreter.

Arie, You are *Corlaer*'s Meſſenger? *Ohqueſſe* " is the Governor of *Canada*'s; and there ſits " our Father (*z*) *Tonnondio* acquainted us " ſome time ago, that he would ſpeak with " us before he would undertake any thing " againſt the *Sennakas*. Now he hath ſent for " all the Nations to ſpeak with him in Friend- " ſhip, and that at a Place not far from *Onnon-* " *daga*, ev'n at *Kaihohage*. But our Brother " *Corlaer* tells us, That we muſt not meet the " Governor of *Canada* without his Permiſ- " ſion; and that if *Tonnondio* have any thing " to ſay to us, he muſt firſt ſend to *Corlaer* for " leave to ſpeak with us. *Tonnondio* has ſent " long ago to us to ſpeak withhim, and he has " lately

(*y*) That is, the Partridge. (*z*) Pointing to the Jeſuit.

" lately repeated that Desire, by *Onnissantie*,
" the Brother of our Father *Twirhaersira*, that
" sits there. He has not only intreated us by
" our Father, but by two *Praying Indians*, one
" an *Onnondaga*, the other the Son of an Old
" *Mohawk* Sachem, *Connondowe*. They
" brought five great Belts of Wampum, not
" a Fathom or two only, as you bring. Now
" *Ohqueesse* has been sent with three *French-men*:
" *Yonnondio* not content with all this, has like-
" wise sent *Dennehoot*, and two other *Mohawks*
" to perswade us to meet him, and to speak
" with him of good Things. Should we not
" go to him, after all this Entreaty, when he
" is come so far, and so near to us, certainly
" if we did not, we should provoke his
" Wrath, and not deserve this Goodness. You
" say we are Subjects to the King of *England*
" and *Duke of York*, but we say, we are Bre-
" thren. We must take care of our selves.
" Those Arms fixed upon the Post without
" the Gate, cannot defend us against the Arms
" of *La Barre*.

" *Brother Corlaer*, We tell you, That we
" shall bind a Covenant Chain to our Arm,
" and to his, as thick as that Post (*Pointing to a Post of the House*) " Be not dissatisfi'd; should
" we not imbrace this Happiness offer'd to
" us, *viz.* Peace, in the place of War; yea,
" we shall take the Evil doers, the *Sennekas* by

" the

" the hand, and *La Barre* likewiſe, and their ax
" and his Sword ſhall be thrown into a deep
" Water. We wiſh our Brother *Corlaer*
" were preſent, but it ſeems the time will not
" permit of it.

Accordingly *Garangula*, one of the chief Sachems of the *Onnondagas*, with thirty Warriors, went with Mr. *Le Maine* to meet the Governor of *Canada* at *Kaihohage*. After he had remain'd two Days in the *French* Camp Mr *La Barre* ſpoke to him, as follows, (the *French* Officers making a Semi-circle on one ſide while *Garangula*, with his Warriors, compleated the Circle on the other.)

(*b*) *Monſ.* De La Barre's *Speech to* Garangula.

" THe King, my Maſter, being inform'd
" that the *Five Nations* have often infring'd
" the Peace, has order'd me to come hither
" with a Guard, and to ſend *Ohgueſſe* to the
" *Onnondagas* to bring the chief Sachems to
" my Camp. The Intention of the great
" King is, that you and I may ſmoke the

(*b*) Voyages du Baron de la Hontan, Tome 1. Lettre 7.

" Calumet (*c*) of Peace together, but on " this Condition, that you Promise me, in " the Name of the *Sennekas*, *Cayugas*, *On-* " *nondagas*, *Oneydoes* and *Mohawks*, to give " entire Satisfaction and Reparation to his " Subjects, and for the future never to molest " them.

" The *Sennekas*, *Cayugas*, *Onnondagas*, *Oney-* " *does* and *Mohawks* have Rob'd and Abus'd " all the Traders that were passing towards " the *Illinois* and *Umamies*, and other *Indian* " Nations, the Children of my King. They " have acted, on these occasions, contrary to " the Teaty of Peace. with my Predecessor. " I am order'd therefore to demand Satisfa- " ction, and to tell them, That in case of " of Refusal, or their Plundering us any " more, that I have express Orders to declare " War. *This Belt Confirms my Words.*

The

(*c*) The *Calumet* is a large Smoaking Pipe, made of Marble, most commonly of a dark Red, well polished, shaped some-what in the form of a Hatchet, and adorned with large Feathers of several Colours. It is used in all the *Indian* Treaties with Strangers, as a Flag of Truce between Contending Partys, which all the *Indians* think a very high Crime to violate. These *Calumets* are generally of nice Workmanship, and were in use before the *Indians* knew any thing of the *Christians*; for which Reason we are at a loss to conceive by what means they pierced these Pipes and shaped them so finely, before they had the use of Iron.

" The Warriors of the *Five Nations* have " conducted the *Engliſh* into the Lakes, which " belong to the King, my Maſter, and brought " the *Engliſh* among the Nations that are his " Children, to deſtroy the Trade of his Sub- " jects, and to with-draw thoſe Nations from " him. They have carried the *Engliſh* thither, " notwithſtanding the Prohibition of the late " Governor of *New-York*, who fore-ſaw the " Riſque that both they and you would run. " I am willing to forget theſe things, but if " ever the like ſhall happen for the future, I " have expreſs Orders to declare War againſt " you. *This Belt Confirms my Words.*

" Your Warriors have made ſeveral Bar- " barous Incurſions on the *Ilinois* and *Umamies*. " They have Maſſacreed Men, Women and " Children, and have made many of theſe " two Nations Priſoners, who thought them- " ſelves ſafe in their Villages, in time of Peace. " Theſe People, who are my Kings Children, " muſt not be your Slaves, you muſt give " them their Liberty, and ſend them back " into their own Country. If the *Five Na-* " *tions* ſhall refuſe to do this, I have expreſs " Orders to declare War againſt them. *This* " *Belt Confirms my Words.*

" This is what I had to ſay to *Garangula*, that " he may carry to the *Sennekas*, *Cayugas*, *On-* " *nondagas*, *Oneydoes* and *Mohawks* the Decla-

" ration which the King, my Master, has " commanded me to make. He doth not " wish them to force him to send a great Army " to *Cadarackui Fort*, to begin a War, which " must be fatal to them. He would be sorry " that this Fort, which was the Work of " Peace, should become the Prison of your " Warriors. We must endeavour, on both sides, " to prevent such Misfortunes. The *French*, " who are the Brethren and Friends of the " *Five Nations*, will never trouble their repose, " Provided that the Satisfaction which I de- " mand, be given, and that the Treatyes of " Peace be hereafter observed. I shall be " extreamly grieved if my words do not pro- " duce the Effect which I expect from them; " for then I shall be obliged to joyn with " the Governor of *New-York*, who is " Commanded by his Master to assist me, and " burn the Castles of the *Five Nations*, and " destroy you. *This Belt Confirms my Words.*

Garangula was very much surprized to find the soft words of the *Jesuit*, and of the Governors Messengers, turn'd to such threatning Language. They were designed to strike Terror into the *Indians*. But *Garangula* having had good Information, from those of the *Five Nations* living near *Cadarackui* Fort, of all the Sickness and other Misfortunes which

which attended the *French* Army, they were far from producing the designed Effect. All the time that Monſ. *De la Barre* ſpoke, *Garangula* kept his Eyes fixed upon the end of his Pipe. And as ſoon as the Governor had done ſpeaking, he roſe up, and having walked five or ſix times round the Circle, he returned to his place, where he ſpoke ſtanding, while Monſ. *De la Barre* kept his Elbow Chair, and ſaid,

Garangula's *Anſwer.*

" *Yonnondio*, I Honour you, and the " Warriors that are with me all likewiſe " honour you. Your Interpreter has finiſhed " your Speech; I now begin mine. My " words make haſte to reach your Ears, " hearken to them.

" *Yonnondio*, You muſt have believed when " you left *Quebeck*, that the Sun had burnt up " all the Foreſts which render our Country " Unacceſſible to the *French*, Or that the " Lakes had ſo far overflown their Banks, " that they had ſurrounded our Caſtles, and " that it was impoſſible for us to get out of " them. Yes, *Yonnondio*, ſurely you muſt have " thought ſo, and the Curioſity of ſeeing ſo " great a Country burnt up, or under Water, " has brought you ſo far. Now you are " undeceived, ſince that I and my Warriors

" are

" are come to assure you that the *Sennekas*,
" *Cayugas*, *Onnondagas*, *Oneydoes* and *Mohawks*
" are all alive. I thank you, in their Name,
" for bringing back into their Country the
" *Calumet* which your Predecessor received
" from their hands. It was happy for you
" that you left under ground that Murdering
" Hatchet which has been so often dyed in
" the Blood of the *French*. Hear *Yonnondio*,
" I do not Sleep, I have my eyes Open, and
" the Sun which enlightens me discovers to
" me a great Captain at the head of a Com-
" pany of Soldiers, who speaks as if he were
" Dreaming. He says that he only came to
" the Lake to smoak on the great *Calumet*
" with the *Onnondagas*. But *Garangula* says,
" that he sees the Contrary, that it was to
" knock them on the head, if Sickness had
" not weakned the Arms of the *French*.

" I see *Yonnondio* Raving in a Camp of
" sick men, who's Lives the great Spirit has
" saved, by Inflicting this Sickness on them.
" Hear *Yonnondio*, Our Women had taken
" their Clubs, our Children and Old Men
" had carried their Bows and Arrows into
" the heart of your Camp, if our Warriors
" had not disarmed them, and retained them
" when your Messenger, *Ohqueese* appeared
" in our Castle. It is done, and I have said it.

" Hear,

" Hear *Yonnondio*, we plundered none of " the *French*, but thoſe that carried Guns, " Powder and Ball to the *Twihties* and *Chic-* " *taghicks*, becauſe thoſe Arms might have " coſt us our Lives. Herein we follow the " example of the Jeſuits, who ſtave all the " Barrels of Rum brought to our Caſtle, " leſt the Drunken *Indians* ſhould knock them " on the Head. Our Warriors have not " Bevers enough to pay for all theſe Arms " that they have taken, and our Old Men are " not afraid of the War. *This Belt pre-* " *ſerves my words.*

" We carried the *Engliſh* into our Lakes, to " traffick there with the *Utawawas* and " *Qutoghies*, as the *Adirondacks* brought the " *French* to our Caſtles, to carry on a Trade " which the *Engliſh* ſay is theirs. We are " born free, We neither depend upon *Yonnondio* " no r *Corlaer*.

" We may go where we pleaſe, and carry " with us whom we pleaſe, and buy and " ſell what we pleaſe. If your Allies be your " Slaves, uſe them as ſuch, Command them " to receive no other but your People. *This* " *Belt Preſerves my Words.*

" We knockt the *Twihtwies* and *Chictaghiks* " on the head, becauſe they had cut down the " Trees of Peace, which were the Limits of " our Country. They have hunted Bevers

" on

" on our Lands: They have acted contrary " to the Custom of all *Indians*; for they left " none of the Bevers alive, they kill'd both " Male and Female. They brought the *Sa-* " *tanas* (*d*) into their Country, to take part " with them, and Arm'd them, after they had " concerted ill Designs against us. We have " done less than either the *English* or *French*, " that have usurp'd the Lands of so many " *Indian* Nations, and chased them from their " own Country. *This Belt Preserves my* " *Words.*

" Hear *Yonondio*, What I say is the Voice " of all the *Five Nations*. Hear what they " Answer, Open your Ears to what they " Speak. The *Sennekas*, *Cayugas*, *Onnondagas*, " *Oneydoes* and *Mohawks* say, That when they " buried the Hatchet at *Cadaracky* (in the " presence of your Predecessor) in the middle " of the Fort, they planted the Tree of " Peace, in the same place, to be there care- " fully preserved, that, in place of a Retreat " for Soldiers, that Fort might be a Rende- " vouze of Merchants; that in place of Arms " and Munitions of War, Bevers and Mer- " chandize should only enter there.

" Hear, *Yonondio*, Take care for the future, " that so great a Number of Soldiers as ap-

" pear

(*d*) Called *Sawonons* by the *French*.

" pear here do not choak the Tree of Peace
" planted in so small a Fort. It will be a great
" Loss, if after it had so easily taken root,
" you should stop its growth, and prevent its
" covering your Country and ours with its
" Branches. I assure you, in the Name of
" the *Five Nations*, That our Warriors shall
" dance to the *Calumet of Peace* under its leaves,
" and shall remain quiet on their Mats, and
" shall never dig up the Hatchet till their
" Brethren; *Yonnondio* or *Corlaer* shall either
" joyntly or seperately endeavour to attack
" the Country which the great Spirit has giv-
" en to our Ancestors. *This Belt Preserves my*
" *Words, and this other, the Authority which the*
" Five Nations *have given me.*

Then *Garangula* addressing himself to Mr. *Le Main*, said,

" Take Courage, *Ohqueese*, you have Spirit,
" Speak, Explain my Words, Forget no-
" thing, Tell all that your Brethren and
" Friends say to *Yonnondio*, your Governor,
" by the Mouth of *Garangula*, who honours
" you, and desires you to accept of this Pre-
" sent of Bever, and take part with me in my
" Feast, to which I invite you. This Present
" of Bevers is sent to *Yonnondio* on the part of
" the *Five Nations*.

When *Garangula*'s Harrangue was explain'd

to Mr. *De la Barre*, he return'd to his Tent, enraged at what he had heard.

Garangula feasted the *French* Officers, and then Return'd. And Monſ. *De la Barre* ſet out in in his way towards *Monreal*. As ſoon as the General was embarqued with the few Soldiers that remain'd in Health, the Militia made the beſt of their way to their own Habitations, without any Order or Diſcipline.

Thus a very Chargeable and Fatiguing Expedition (which was to ſtrike the Terror of the *French* Name into the Stubborn Hearts of the *Five Nations*) ended by a Diſpute between the *French* General and an Old *Indian*.

When the *Indians* came to *Albany*, after they had met with Mr. *De la Barre*, (and were upbraided for it by Coll. *Dongan*) *Carachkondie*, an *Onnondaga*, ſlyly anſwer'd, *We are ſorry, and aſhamed; for now we underſtand that the Governor of* Canada *is not ſo great a Man as the* Engliſh *King that lives on the other ſide the great Water; and we are vexed for having given the Governor of* Canada *ſo many fine Wampum Belts.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Engliſh *Attempt to Trade in the Lakes, and Mr.* De Nonville *Attacks the* Sennekas.

MOnſieur *Le Marquis de Nonville* having ſucceeded Mr. *De la Barre*, in 1685. and having brought a conſiderable Reinforcement of Soldiers with him, he reſolv'd to Recover the Honour the *French* had loſt in the laſt Expedition, and to Revenge the Slaughter that the *Five Nations* continued to make of the *Twihtwiks* and *Chictaghiks*, who had put themſelves under the Protection of the *French*; for the *Five Nations* having entirely ſubdued the *Chicktaghiks*, (*e*) after a ſix years War, they reſolv'd next to fall upon the *Twihtwies*, and to call them to an account for the Diſturbance they had given ſome of the *Five Nations* in their Bever-hunting. The *Five Nations* have few or no Bevers in their own Country, and are for that reaſon obliged to hunt at a great diſtance, which often occaſion'd Diſputes with their Neighbours about the Property of the Bever, in ſome parts of the Country.

(*e*) Called *Illinois* by the *French*.

The Bevers are the moſt valuable part of the *Indian* Trade. And as the *Twihtwies* carried their Bever to the *French*, the *Engliſh* favour'd the *Five Nations* in theſe Expeditions, and particularly in the beginning of the year 1687, made the *Five Nations* a Preſent of a Barrel of Powder, when their whole Force was preparing to go againſt the *Twihtwies*. The *Engliſh* were the better pleas'd with this War, becauſe they thought it would divert their Thoughts from the *Indians* that were Friends to *Virginia*: But the *French* were reſolv'd to Support their Friends more effectually by a powerful Diverſion, and to change the Seat of the War.

For this purpoſe Mr. *De Nonville* ſent, in *May*, 1687, great Quantities of Proviſions to *Cadarackui* Fort, and gather'd the whole Force of *Canada* to *Montreal*. His Army conſiſted of 1500 *French* of the Regular Troops & Militia, and 500 *Indians* that lived near *Monreal* and *Quebeck*.

He ſent likewiſe Orders to the Commandant at *Miſſilimakinak* to aſſemble all the Nations round him, and to March them to *Oniagara*, in order to joyn the Forces of *Canada* deſign'd againſt the *Sennekas*. And the other Officers poſted among the *Indians* Weſtward, had the like Orders.

The *Twihtwies* receiv'd the Hatchet with joy, from the hands of the *French* Officer, againſt

againſt the *Five Nations.* The *Outagamies* (*f*) *Kikabous*, and *Maſkoutuhs*, who were not us'd to Cannoes, were at firſt perſwaded to joyn the *Twihtwies*, who were to march by Land to *Teuchſagrondie*, where there was a French Fort, at which they were to be ſupply'd with Ammunition: But after the *French* Officer left them, the *Utagamies* and *Maſkuticks* were diſſwaded by ſome of the *Mahikander Indians*, who happen'd to be with a neighbouring Nation at that time.

The *Putewatemies*, *Malhominies* and *Puans* offer'd themſelves willingly, and went to the Rendevouze at *Miſſilimakinak*, where they were receiv'd by the *Utawawas* with all the Marks of Honour uſually paid to Soldiers, tho' the *Utawawas* had no inclination to the preſent Enterprize; they could not tell, however, how to appear againſt it, otherwiſe than by inventing what Delays they could to prevent their Marching.

In the mean while, a Cannoe arriv'd, which was ſent by Mr. *De Nonville* with his Orders to the Officers. This Cannoe in her Paſſage diſcover'd ſome *Engliſh* commanded by Major *M'Gregory*, in their way to *Teiodondaraghie*. The *Engliſh* thought (after they had an account

(*f*) The *Outagamies*, *Kikabous*, *Malhominies* and *Puans* live on the Weſt ſide of *Lake Michigan*.

of

of the new Alliance their King had enter'd into with the *French*) that the French would not disturb them in prosecuting a Trade with the Indians every where, and that the Trade would be equally free and open to both Nations. With these hopes a considerable Number of Adventurers went out under the Conduct of Major *M'Gregory* to Trade with the Indians living on the Banks of the Lakes; and that they might be the more wellcome, perswaded the *Five Nations* to set all the *Dionondadie* Prisoners at Liberty. who went along with the *English* and conducted them towards *Missilimakinak* or *Teiodondoraghie*. But the *English* found themselves mistaken, for the *French* Commandant at *Teiodondoraghie*, as soon as he had Notice of this, sent 300 *French* to intercept the *English*.

(*g*) The *Utawawas* and *Dionondadies* having likewise an account of the *English*, designed to support their own Independency, and to encourage the *English* Trade. The Return of the *Dionondadie* Prisoners made that Nation very hearty in favouring the *English*, they therefore marched immediately off, with design to joyn Major *M'Gregory*, but

(*g*) Histoire de Le Amerique Septentrionale par Mr. De la Peterie, Tome 2. Chap. 16.

the

the *Utawawas* were divided in their Inclinations, their Chief, with about thirty more joyn'd the *French*, the reſt remain'd in ſuſpence and ſtood Neuter.

The *Utawawas* thus wavering, diſconcerted the Meaſures of the *Deionondadies*, for they began to ſuſpect the *Utawawas*, and therefore immediately return'd to ſecure their Wives and Children they had left near the *French* Fort with the *Utawawas*. The *Engliſh* and their Effects were ſeized without any Oppoſition, and were carried to the *French* Fort at *Teiodondoraghie*.

The *Engliſh* brought great Quantities of Rum with them, (which the *Indians* love more than their Life) and the *French* being afraid that if the *Indians* took to drinking, they would grow ungovernable, did what they could to keep them from it. They were moſt concerned that the *Putewatemies*, (who had no knowledge of the *Engliſh*, or of that bewitching Liquor, and were firmly attached to the *French*) ſhould not taſte it.

The *Utawawas* ſtill contrived delays to the March, and having got ſome of the *Putewatemies* privately by themſelves, they offered them a Cag of Rum, and ſaid, "We are all "Bretheren, we ought to make one Body, "and to have one Soul. The *French* invite us "to War againſt the *Five Nations*, with deſign

"to

" to make us Slaves, and that we should make
" our selves the Tools to effect it. As soon
" as they shall have destroyed the *Five Nations*,
" they will no longer observe any Measures
" with us, but use us like those Beasts that
" they tye to their Plows. Let us leave them
" to themselves, and they'll never be able to
" accomplish any thing against the *Five Na-*
" *tions*.

But the *Putewatemies* had entertain'd such Notions of the *French*, as made them Deaf to all the Politicks of the *Otawawas*.

The *French* however grew Jealous of these Caballings, and therefore resolv'd to delay their March no longer, and would not stay one day more for the *Otawawas*, who desired only so much time to Pitch their Canoes, but went away without them.

Mr. *Tonti* Commandant among the *Chicktaghicks* met with another Party of the *English* of about 30 Men in *Lake Ohswego* as he marched with the *Chicktaghicks* and *Twihtwiks*, and other neighbouring Nations to the General Rendevouze. He fell upon the *English*, Plundered them, and took them Prisoners. The *French* divided all the Merchandize among the *Indians*, but kept the Rum to themselves and got all drunk. The *Deonondadie* Prisoners, that Conducted the *English*, joyned with the *Mihikander Indians* that were among Mr. *Tonti*'s

Indians

Indians (who had privately diſſwaded about 200 of the neighbouring Nations from going along with *Tonti*) and endeavoured to perſwade all the *Indians* to fall upon the *French*, while they were drunk, and deſtroy them, ſaying, *The* French *are a Proud, Imperious, Covetous People, that ſell their goods at an extravagant Price: The* Engliſh *are a good Natured, Honeſt People, who will furniſh you with every thing at reaſonable Rates.* But theſe arguments were to no purpoſe, for theſe *far Indians* had entertained extraordinary Notions of the *French Power*, and knew nothing of the *Engliſh*.

The *French* and *Putewatemies* being gone from *Teïodondoraghie*, the *Utawawas* began to be afraid of the *French* Reſentment, and therefore the better to keep up the colour they had put on their delays, marched over Land with all poſſible expedition, to the general Rendevouz near *Oniagara*, where all the *French* Force, both *Chriſtian* and *Indian* was to meet.

The *Five Nations* being informed of the *French* Preparations, laid aſide their Deſigns againſt the *Twihtwies*, and prepared to give the *French* a warm Reception. Upon this the Prieſt at *Onnondaga* left them, and their Soldiers came to *Albany* to provide Ammunition. The Commiſſioners made them a Preſent of a conſiderable quantity of Powder and Lead, beſides what they purchaſed. They were

under a great deal of Concern when they took leave of the Commissioners, and said, "Since "we are to expect no other Assistance from "our Brethren, we must recommend our "Wives and Children to you, who will fly "to you, if any Misfortune shall happen to "us. It may be we never shall see you more; "for we are resolved to behave so as our "Brethren shall have no reason to be asha-"med of us.

We must now return to Mr. *De Nonville*'s Army.

Monsr. *Champigni* marched eight or ten Days before the rest of the Army, with between two and three hundred *Canadiens*. As soon as they arriv'd at *Cadarackui*, they surprized two Villages of the *Five Nations*, that were settled about eight Leagues from that Place, to prevent their giving any intelligence to their own Nation of the *French* Preparations, or the State of the *French* Army, as it was supposed they did in the last Expedition under Mr. *De la Barre*. These People were surprised when they least expected, and by them from whom they fear'd no harm, because they had settled there at the Invitation and on the Faith of the *French*. They were carried in cold Blood to the Fort, and tyed to Stakes to be tormented

by

by the *French Indians* (*Christians*, as they call them) while they continued singing in their Country manner, and upbraiding the *French* with their Perfidy and Ungratitude. But the *French* Policy had no Compassion on these Miserable People, when they were resolved to destroy their whole Nation.

While Mr. *De Nonville* was at *Cadaracki* Fort, he had an Account that the *Chicktaghicks* and *Twihtwies* waited for the *Quatoghies* and *Utawawas* at (*b*) *Lake St. Clair*, with whom they design'd to March to the general Rendevouz at the Mouth of the *Sennekas River*. For this Expedition was chiefly design'd against the *Sennekas*, who had absolutely refused to meet Mr. *De la Barre*, and were most firmly attached to the *English*. The *Sennekas* for this reason were design'd to be made Examples of the *French* Resentment to all the other Nations of *Indians*.

The Messenger having assured the General, that it was time to depart, in order to meet the Western *Indians*, that came to his Assistance, he set out the 23d of *June*, and sent one part of his Army in Canoes, along the North Shoar, while he with the other part passed along the South, that no accidents of wind

(*b*) In the Streights between *Oswego Lake* and *Quatoghis Lake*.

might prevent the one or the other reaching within the time appointed at the Place the *Indians* were to meet him. It happened, by reason of the good weather that both the Parties arrived on the same day, and joyned the Western *Indians* at *Irondequat*. As soon as the men were put on shoar, they hawled up the Canoes, and began a Fort, where 400 Men were left to guard the Canoes, and the Baggage. Here a young *Canadien* was shot to death, as a Deserter, for conducting the *English* into the Lakes, tho' the two Nations were not only at Peace, but their Kings in stricter Friendship than usual. But this Piece of severity is not to be wonder'd at, when the *French* were resolved to undertake an unjust War, and every thing to put a stop to the *English* Trade, which now began to extend it self far into the Continent, and would in its consequence ruin theirs. The next day the Army began to march towards the chief Village of the *Sennekas*, which was only seven Leagues distant, every man carrying ten Biskets for his Provision. The *Indian* Traders made the Van with part of the *Indians*, the other part marched in the Rear, while the Regular Troops and Militia compos'd the main Body. The Army marched four Leagues the first day, without discovering any thing. The next day the Scouts advanced before the Army, as far as the corn Fields of

the

the Village, without seeing any body, tho they passed within Pistol shot of 500 *Sennekas*, that lay on their Bellies, and let them pass and repass, without disturbing them.

On the Report which they made, the *French* Marched with much haste, but little Order, in hopes to overtake the Women, Children and Old Men; for they no longer doubted of all being fled. But as soon as the *French* reached the foot of a Hill, about a quarter of a League from the Village, the *Sennekas* suddenly rais'd the War-shout, with a Discharge of their Fire-Arms. This put the Regular Troops, as well as the Militia into such a Fright, as they marched through the Woods, that the Battalions immediately divided, and run to the Right and Left, and in the Confusion fired upon one another. When the *Sennekas* perceived their Disorder, they fell in among them Pell-mell, till the *French Indians*, more used to such Fights, gathered together and Repulsed the *Sennekas*. There were (according to the *French* Accounts) a hundred *French-men*, ten *French Indians*, and about fourscore *Sennekas* kill'd in this Rencounter.

Mr. *De Nonvelle* was so dis-spirited with the Fright that his Men had been put into, that his *Indians* could not perswade him to pursue. He halted the remainder of that Day. The next day he Marched on with design to burn

the

the Village, but when he came there, he found the *Sennekas* had saved him the trouble; for they had laid all in Ashes before they Retired; Two Old Men only were found in the Castle, who were cut into Pieces and boyled to make Soop for the *French* Allies. The *French* staid five or six Days to destroy their Corn, and then marched to two other Villages, at two or three Leagues distance. After they had perform'd the like Exploits in those Places they return'd to the Banks of the Lake.

Before the *French* left the Lakes, they built a Fort of four Bastions at *Oniagara*, on the South side of the Streights, between *Ohswego Lake* and *Cadarackui Lake*, and left a hundred Men, with eight Months Provisions in it. But this Garrison was so closely blockt up by the, *Five Nations*, that they all dy'd of Hunger, except seven or eight, who were accidentally reliev'd by a Party of *French Indians*.

The *Western Indians* when they parted from the *French* General, made their Harrangues, as usual, in which they told him with what Pleasure they saw a Fort so well placed to favour their Designs against the *Five Nations*, and that they Relied on his never Finishing the War but with the Destruction of the *Five Nations*, or Forceing them to abandon their Country. He assured them, that he would act with such

Vigour

Vigour that they would soon see the *Five Nations* driven into the Sea.

He sent a Detachment of Soldiers to *Teiodondoraghie*, and in his Return to *Canada*, which was by the North side of the Lake, he left the same Number of Men and Quantity of Provisions at *Cadarackui* Fort.

The *French* having got nothing but dry Blows, sent thirteen of the *Indians* that they surprized at *Cadarackui*, to *France*, as Trophies of their Victory, where they were put into the Galleys, as Rebels to their King.

CHAP. VI.

Coll. Dongan's *Advice to the* Indians. Adario's *Enterprize, and* Montreal *Sacked by the* Five Nations.

COll. *Dongan*, who always had the *Indian Affairs* very much at heart, met the *Five Nations* at *Albany* as soon as possible after the *French* Expedition, and spoke to them on the 5th of *August*, in the following words, *viz.*

Brethren;

"I Am very glad to see you here in this "House, and am heartily glad that you

" have

" have ſuſtain'd no greater loſs by the *French*,
" tho' I believe it was their Intention to de-
" ſtroy you all, if they could have ſurpriz'd
" you in your Caſtles.

" As ſoon as I heard of their deſin to War
" with you, I gave you Notice, and came up
" hither my ſelf, that I might be ready to give
" all the Aſſiſtance and Advice that ſo ſhort a
" time would allow me.

" I am now about ſending a Gentleman to
" *England*, to the King, my Maſter, to let
" him know, that the *French* have invaded
" his Territories on this ſide the great
" Lake, and War'd upon the Brethren, his
" Subjects. I would therefore willingly
" know, whether the Brethren have given
" the Governor of *Canada* any Provocation
" or not; and if they have, how, and in what
" manner, becauſe I am oblig'd to give a
" true account of this matter. This buſineſs
" may cauſe a War between the King of
" *England* and the *French* King, both in *Europe*
" and here, and therefore I muſt know the
" Truth.

I know the Governor of *Cananda* dare not
" enter into the great King of *England*'s
" Territories, in a Hoſtile manner, without
" Provocation, if he thought the Brethren
" were the King of *England*'s Subjects; But
" you having two or three years ago, made a
" Covenant

" Covenant Chain with the *French*, contrary " to my Command, (which I knew could " not hold long) being void of it ſelf among " the *Chriſtians*; for as much as Subjects (as " you are) ought not to treat with any Fo- " reign Nation, it not lying in your Power, " have brought this Trouble upon your ſelves, " and, as I believe, is the only reaſon of their " falling upon you at this time.

" *Brethren*, I took it very ill, that after you " had put your ſelves into the Number of " the great King of *England*'s Subjects, that " you ſhould ever offer to make Peace or " War without my conſent. You know that " we can live without you, but you cannot " live without us. You never found that I " told you a Lie, and I did offer you Aſſiſt- " ance as you wanted, provided that you " would be adviſed by me; for I know the " *French* better than any of you do.

" Now ſince there is a War begun upon " you by the Governor of *Canada*, I hope " without any Provocation by you given, I " deſire and command you, that you hearken " to no Treaty but by my Advice, which if " you follow, you ſhall have the Benefit of " the great Chain of Friendſhip between the " great King of *England* and the *French* King, " which came out of *England* the other day, " and which I have ſent to *Canada* by *Anthony*

" *Le Junard*; In the mean time I will give
" you such Advice as will be for your good,
" and will supply you with such Necessarys
" as you will have need of.

" *First*, My Advice is, that as many Pri-
" soners of the *French*, as you shall take, that
" you draw not their Blood, but bring them
" home and keep them to Exchange for your
" People, which they have Prisoners already,
" or may take hereafter.

" 2*dly*, That if it be Possible, that you can
"order it so, I would have you take one or
" two of your wisest Sachems, and one or
" two chief Captains of each Nation, to be
" a Council to manage all Affairs of the War.
" They to give Orders to the rest of the
" Officers what they are to do, that your
" designs may be kept Private, for after it
" comes among so many People, it is Blazed
" abroad, and your designs are often frustrated.
" And those chief Men to keep a Corre-
" spondence with me, by a Trusty Messen-
" ger.

" 3*dly*, Now the Great matter under
" Consideration with the Brethren, is, how
" to strengthen themselves, and weaken your
" Enemy. My Opinion is, that the Brethren
" should send Messengers to the *Ottawaws*,
" *Twihtwichs*, and the farther *Indians*, and to
" send back likewise some of the Prisoners of

" these

" these Nations, if any you have left, to " bury the Hatchet, and to make a Covenant " Chain, that they may put away all the " *French* that are among them, and that you " will open a Path for them this way, They " being the King of *England*'s Subjects like- " wise, only the *French* have been admitted to " Trade with them, for all that the *French* have " in *Canada* they had it of the Great King of " *England*, that by that Means they may come " hither freely where they may have every " thing Cheaper than among the *French*. " That you and they may joyn together against " the *French*, and make so firm a League that " whoever is an Enemy to one, must be to " both.

" 4*thly*, Another thing of Concern is, that " you ought to do what you can to open a " Path for all the *North Indians* and *Mahikanders* " that are among the *Utawawas* and farther " Nations: I will endeavour to do the same, " to bring them home; for they not daring " to return home your way, the *French* keep " them there on purpose to joyn with the " farther Nations against you, for your Destru- " ction; for you know, that one of them is " worse than six of the others. Therefore all " means must be used to bring them Home, " and use them kindly as they pass through " your Country.

" *5thly*, My Advice further is, That Mes-
" sengers go in behalf of all the *Five Nations*,
" to the *Christian Indians* at *Canada*,
" to perswade them to come Home to their
" Native Country, and to promise them
" all Protection. This will be another great
" means to weaken your Enemy; but if they
" will not be advised, you know what to do
" with them.

" *6thly*, I think it very necessary for the
" Brethrens Security and Assistance, and to
" the endamaging the *French*, to build a Fort
" upon the Lake, where I may keep Stores
" and Provisions, in case of necessity; and
" therefore I would have the Brethren let me
" know what Place will be most convenient
" for it.

" *7thly*, I would not have the Brethren keep
" their Corn in their Castles, as I hear the
" *Onnondagas* do, but to bury it a great way in
" the Woods, where few People may know
" where it is, for fear of such an Accident as
" has happen'd to the *Sennekas*.

" *8thly*, I have given my Advice in your
" General Assembly by Mr. *Dirk Wessels* and
" *Akus*, the Interpreter, how you are to manage
" your Partys, and how necessary it is to get
" Prisoners, to exchange for your own Men
" that are Prisoners with the *French*. And I
" am glad to hear that the Brethren are so
" United, as Mr. *Dirk Wessels* tells me you

" are

" are, and that there are no Rotten Members
" nor *French* Spyes among you.

" 9*thly*, The Brethren may remember my
" Advice which I sent you this Spring, Not
" to go to *Cadarackui*; if you had, they would
" have serv'd you as they did your People
" who came from Hunting thither; for I
" told you then, that I knew the *French* better
" than you did.

" 10*thly*. There was no Advice or Propo-
" sition that I made to the Brethren, all the
" time that the Priest liv'd at *Onondaga*, but
" what he wrote to *Canada*, as I found by one
" of his Letters which he gave to an Indian
" to carry to *Canada*, but was brought hither.
" Therefore I desire the Brethren not to re-
" ceive him or any *French Priests* any more,
" having sent for *English Priests*, with whom
" you may be supply'd to your Content.

" 11. I would have the Brethren look out
" sharp for fear of being surprised. I be-
" lieve all the Strength of the *French* will be
" at their Frontier Places, *viz.* at *Cadarackui*
" and *Oniagara*, where they build a Fort now,
" and at *Trois Rivieres*, *Montreal* and *Chambly*.

" 12. Let me put you in mind again, not
" to make any Treatys without my Means,
" which will be more Advantagious for you,
" than your doing it by your selves, for then
" you will be look'd upon as the King of

" *England's*

"*England*'s Subjects. And let me know, from "time to time, every thing that is done.

"Thus far I have ſpoken to you relating to "the War.

Then he chid them for their Breach of Faith with *Virginia*. He told them, that he was inform'd that laſt Spring they had kill'd a fine Gentleman, with ſome others, and that a Party of the *Oneydoes* was now there at the head of *James River*, with intention to deſtroy all the *Indians* there-about. They had taken ſix Priſoners, whom he order'd them to bring to him, to be Reſtored; and that for the future they ſhould deſiſt from doing any Injury to the People of *Virginia* or their *Indians*, otherwiſe all the *Engliſh* would unite to deſtroy them. But at the ſame time he free'd the *Sennekas* from any blame, and commended them as a *brave and honeſt People, who never had done any thing contrary to his Orders, except in making that unlucky Peace with the* French *three years a go.*

Laſtly, He recommended to them, Not to ſuffer their People to be Drunk, during the War: A Soldier thereby (he ſaid) looſes his Reputation, becauſe of the Advantages it will give the Enemy over him.

This honeſt Gentleman earneſtly purſued the Intereſt of his Country; but, it ſeems, his Meaſures were not agreeable to thoſe his Maſter

Maſter had taken with the *French* King; for he had Orders to procure a Peace for the *French*, and was ſoon after this Removed from his Government. Indeed ſuch an Active, as well as Prudent Governor of *New-York*, could not be acceptable to the *French*, who had the Univerſal Monarchy in view, in *America* as well as in *Europe*.

Coll. *Dongan*'s Meſſage to Mr. *De Nonville* at a time when the Crowns of *England* and *France* had ſo lately entred into a ſtrict Friendſhip, had, no doubt, ſome Influence on the *French* Governor. But the little Succeſs he had in his Expenſive and Dangerous Expedition, together with the Obſtruction that the *French* Trade met with from the War, inclin'd him more effectually to Propoſals of Peace, which Coll. *Dongan* was forced to make, and the *Five Nations* to yield to: For notwithſtanding Coll. *Dongan*'s Advice to them, as above related, he by his Maſters Orders (who was entirely devoted to Bigotry and the *French* Intereſt) obliged the *Five Nations* to agree to a Ceſſation of Arms, and to deliver up their Priſoners without any Conditions, in order to obtain a Peace on ſuch Terms as the *French* ſhould agree to. And that no Accident might prevent, Mr. *De Nonville* ſent his Orders to all his Officers in the *Indian* Countrys to obſerve a Ceſſation of Arms till the Ambaſſadors of the

Five

Five Nations should meet him at *Montreal*, as they had given him reason to expect in a little time, to conclude the Peace in the usual Form.

In the mean time, *Adario*, the chief of the *Deonondadies*, finding that his Nation was become suspected by the *French*, since the time they had shown so much Inclination to the *English* when they attempted to Trade at *Missilimakinak*, Resolved by some brave Action against the *Five Nations* to recover the good Graces of the *French*.

For this Purpose he Marched from *Missilimakinak* at the head of a hundred Men; and that he might act with more Security, he took *Cadarackui* Fort in his way for Intelligence: The Commandant informed him, that Mr. *De Nonville* was in hopes of concluding a Peace with the *Five Nations*, and expected their Embassadors in eight or ten days at *Montreal* for that purpose, and therefore desired him to return to *Missilimakinak* without attempting any thing that might Obstruct so good a Design.

The *Indian* being surprized with this News, was under great Concern for his Nation, which he was afraid would be sacrificed to the *French* Resentment or Interest, but dissembled his Concern before the *French* Officer. He went from *Cadarackui*, not to return home as the Commandant thought, but to wait for the

the *Ambassadors* of the 5 *Nations* near one of the Falls of *Cadarackui River*, by which he knew they must pass. He did not lurk there above four or five days before the unhappy Deputies came guarded by forty young Soldiers, who were all surprized & kill'd or taken Prisoners. As soon as the Prisoners were all secured, the cunning *Deonondadie* told them "That he having "been enformed by the Governor of *Canada*, "That Fifty Warriors of their Nation were "to pass this way about this time, he had "secured this Pass, not doubting of inter-"cepting them.

The Ambassadors being much surpris'd with the *French* Perfidy, told *Adario* the Design of their Journey, who, the better to play his part, seem'd to grow Mad and Furious, declaiming against Mr. *De Nonville*, and said, *He would, some Time or other be Revenged of him for making a Tool of him to commit such horrid Treachery.* Then looking stedfastly on the Prisoners (among whom *Dekanesora* was the Principal Ambassador) *Adario* said to them; *Go my Brethren, I Unty your Bonds, and send you Home again, tho' our Nations be at War: The* French *Governor has made me commit so black an Action, that I shall never be easy after it till your* Five Nations *shall have taken full Vengeance.*

This was sufficient to perswade the Ambassadors of the Truth of what he said, who

assured him, That he and his Nation might make their Peace when they pleased. *Adario* lost only one Man on this occasion, and would keep a *Satana* Slave, (adopted into the *Five Nations*) to fill up his place. Then he gave Arms, Powder and Ball to the rest of the Prisoners, to enable them to Return.

The Ambassadors were chiefly, if not all, *Onnondagas* and *Oneydoes*, who had been long under the influence of the *French Priests*, and still retain'd an Affection to them; but this Adventure throughly changed their thoughts, and irritated them so heartily against the *French*, that all the *Five Nations* from this time prosecuted the War unanimously.

Adario deliver'd the Slave (his Prisoner) to the *French* at *Missilimakinak*, who to keep up the Enmity between the *Deonondadies* and the *Five Nations*, order'd him to be shot to Death. As they carried him out, he related the whole of the Action, but the *French* thinking that he had only contrived it to save his Life, had no regard to it, till the fatal Consequences call'd his Dying Words to their Remembrance, with sorrowful Reflections.

The same Day that the *Satana* was shot, *Adario* call'd one of the *Five Nations*, who had been long a Prisoner, to be an Eye-witness of his Country-mans Death, then bid him make his Escape to his own Country, to give an Account

Account of the *French* Cruelty, from which it was not in his Power to save a Prisoner he himself had taken.

This heighten'd the Rage of the *Five Nations*, so that Mr. *De Nonville*'s sending to disown *Adario* (*m*) in this Action, had no effect upon them: Their Breasts admitted of no thought but that of Revenge. It was not not long before the *French* felt the Bloody effects of this cruel Passion; for 1200 Men of the *Five Nations* invaded the Island of *Montreal* when the *French* had no suspicion of any such Attempt, while Mr. *De Nonville* and his Lady were in that Town. They Landed on the South side of the Island at *La Chine*, on the 26*th* of *July*, 1688. where they burnt and sacked all the Plantations, and made a terrible Massacre of Men, Women and Children. The *French* were under apprehension of the Town's being attacked, for which reason they durst not send out any considerable Party to the Relief of the Country, till the *Indians* had blocked up two Forts, when Mr. *De Nonville* sent out a hundred Soldiers and fifty *Indians* to try to bring off the Men. The *French* of this Party were all either taken or cut to pieces, except one Soldier and the Commanding Officer, who was carried off by twelve *Indians* that made their escape, after he had his Thigh broke. There was above a Thou-

sand of the *French* kill'd at this time, and Twenty six were carried away Prisoners, the greatest part of which were burnt alive. The *Five Nations* only lost three Men in this Expedition, that got Drunk, and were left behind. This, however, did not satiate their Thirst after Blood; for in *October* following they destroy'd likewise all the lower part of the Island, and carried away many Prisoners.

The Consequences of these Expeditions were very dismal to the *French*, for they were forced to burn their two Barks which they had on *Cadarackui Lake*, and to abandon their Fort there. They design'd to have blown up their Works when they left that place, and for that end left a lighted Match where the Powder lay, but were in such a Fright, that they durst not stay to see what effect it had. They went down *Cadarackui River*, in seven Birch Canoes, and for greater Security travel'd in the Night. One of the Canoes with all the men in it was lost by their Precipitation, as they passed one of the Falls of that River. The *Five Nations* hearing that the *French* had deserted *Cadarackui* Fort, 50 *Indians* went and took Possession of it, who found the Match the *French* had left, which had gone out, and 28 Barrils of Powder in the same place, together with several other Stores.

The News of the Success the *Five Nations* had

had over the *French*, ſoon ſpread itſelf among all the *Indians*, and put the *French* Affairs every where into terrible Diſorder.

The *Utawawas* had always ſhown an Inclination to the *Engliſh*, and they therefore immediately ſent openly four Sachems with three Priſoners of the *Sennekas* that they had, to aſſure them, That they would forever Renounce all Friendſhip with the *French*, and promiſed to Reſtore the reſt of the Priſoners. They alſo included ſeven Nations that liv'd near *Miſſilimakinak*, in this Peace.

This put the *French* Commandant there under the greateſt Difficulty to maintain his Poſt; but there was no Choice, he muſt ſtand his Ground; for the *Five Nations* had cut off all hopes of Retiring.

The *Nepeciriniens* and *Kikabous*, of all their Numerous Allies, only remain'd firm to the *French*, every one of the others endeavour'd to gain the Friendſhip of the 5 *Nations*, and would certainly have done it, by Maſſacreing all the *French* among them, if the Sieur *Perot* had not with wonderful Sagacity and imminent Hazard to his own Perſon diverted them, for which *Canada* cannot do too much Honour to that Gentlemans Memory.

Canada was now in a moſt Miſerable Condition; for while the greateſt Number of their Men had been employ'd in the Expeditions againſt

againſt the *Five Nations*, and in Trading among the *far Nations*, and making New Diſcoveries and Settlements, Tillage and Husbandry had been neglected; now they loſt ſeveral Thouſands of their Inhabitants by the continual Incurſions of ſmall Parties, ſo that none durſt hazard themſelves out of the Fortified Places. Indeed, it is not eaſie to conceive what Diſtreſs the *French* were then under; for tho' they were almoſt every where ſtarving, they could not Plant nor Sow, or go from one Village to another for Relief, but with imminent Danger of having their Scalps carried away by the Sculking *Indians*. At laſt the whole Country being laid Waſte, Famine began to rage, and was like to have put a Miſerable End to that Colony.

If the *Indians* had underſtood the method of attacking Forts, nothing could have preſerved the *French* from an entire Deſtruction at this time. For whoever conſiders the ſtate of the *Indian* Affairs during this Period, How the *Five Nations* were divided in their Sentiements and Meaſures; The *Onnondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Oneydoes*, under the Influence of the *French* Jeſuits, were diverted from proſecuting the War with *Canada*, by the Jeſuits cunningly ſpiriting up thoſe three Nations againſt the *Virginia Indians*, and perſwading them to ſend out their Parties that

way:

way: The *Sennekas* had a War at the ſame time upon their hands with three numerous *Indian Nations*, the *Utawawas*, *Chicktaghicks* and *Twihtwies*: And the Meaſures the *Engliſh* obſerved with the *French* all King *James*'s Reign, gave the *Indians* rather grounds of Jealouſy than Aſſiſtance. I ſay, whoever conſiders all theſe things, and what the *Five Nations* did actually perform under all theſe Diſadvantages againſt the *French*, will hardly doubt that the *Five Nations* by themſelves were at that time an over Match for the *French* of *CANADA*.

The End of the Firſt Part.





GUACANAGARI
MONTEZUMA
GUATIMOTZIN
POWHATAN
POCAHONTAS
SAMOSET
MASSASOIT
KING PHILIP
UNCAS
TEDYUSKUNG

PONTIAC
CAPTAIN PIPE
LOGAN
CORNPLANTER
JOSEPH BRANT
RED JACKET
LITTLE TURTLE
TECUMSEH
OSCEOLA
SEQUOYA
SHABONEE

BLACK HAWK
KEOKUK
SACAGAWEA
BENITO JUAREZ
MANGUS
COLORADAS
LITTLE CROW
SITTING BULL
CHIEF JOSEPH
GERONIMO



TO PERPETUATE THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE REPRESENTED BY THE ABOVE CHIEFS AND WISE MEN THIS COLLECTION HAS BEEN GATHERED BY THEIR FRIEND

EDWARD EVERETT AYER

AND PRESENTED BY HIM TO

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY

1911



BOUND BY W. PRATT

New York: William Bradford, 1735 (second state) [compare Stokes, I.N.P., V. 2 p. 862, V. 4, p. 50]

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY
CHICAGO


A MAP of the
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LAKE MICHIGAN
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Margrets
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Carr Place
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Huiskiki R.
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Countrey of THE FIVE NATIONS Province of NEW YORK and of ... which the Nations of FAR INDIANS ... CANADA & River S^t Lawrence



N.B. THE Tuskaroras are now reckond a sixth nation and live betwen the Oncindages & Oneydes and ye Nanticokes of Musilimakinac were received to be ye Seventh Nation at Albany May 30th 1723. at their own desire 80 Men of ye nation being present besides women and children

THE chief trade w^th the far Indians is at ye Onondages rivers mouth where they must all pass to go towards CANADA.



AYER
*G21
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